German Orientalism

During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, German universities were at the forefront of scholarship in Oriental studies. Drawing upon a comprehensive survey of thousands of German publications on the Middle East from this period, this book presents a detailed history of the development of Orientalism.

Offering an alternative to the view of Orientalism as a purely intellectual pursuit or solely as a function of politics, this book traces the development of the discipline as a profession. The author discusses the interrelation between research choices and employment opportunities at German universities, examining the history of the discipline within the framework of the humanities. On that basis, topics such as the establishment of Oriental philology, the process of institutional differentiation between the study of Semitic languages and the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, the emergence of Assyriology and the partial establishment of Islamic studies are explored.

This unique perspective on the history of Oriental studies in the German tradition contributes to the understanding of the wider history of the field, and will be of great interest to scholars and students of Middle East studies, history and German history in particular.

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German Orientalism

The study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945

Ursula Wokoeck

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In memory of Amos

Contents

List of figures xi
List of tables xii
Acknowledgments xiii
List of abbreviations xv

1 Introduction 1

The debate on the history of Middle East studies 3
The history of a minor discipline 18
The history of Middle East studies as a part of disciplinary history 27

2 Working at the university 39

The modern university 39
The training and career path of an ordinarius 56

3 Writings and writers on the Middle East 65

Survey of writings on the Middle East 66
Survey of writers on Middle East topics 75

4 The establishment of modern Oriental studies 86

Symptoms of change 86
Classical philology and Sanskrit 95
Philology: Classical and Oriental 103
Theology and Oriental languages 108
Oriental philology 113

5 The beginning of differentiation: Sanskrit and Semitic languages 117

Development on hold 118
Counter-strategies: alternative employment opportunities and the DMG 127
Two disciplines: Sanskrit and comparative linguistics—Semitic languages 142

6 The emergence of Assyriology 146

Institutionalization of Assyriology at the time of the German empire 146
The museum and archaeological excavations as national-imperial projects 153
Excavations and the rise of Assyriology 159

7 Islamic studies: the emergence of a (sub-)discipline? 164

Survey of the institutional manifestations of Islamic studies 165
"Islamic studies": an illusive concept and its stories in the literature 170
The trends of specialization labeled "Islamic studies" 177

8 The primacy of political factors: 1933–45 185

Persecution 187
Developments in the conception of the discipline 189
NS policy towards Oriental studies 196
NS projects involving Oriental studies 202
Scholars of Oriental studies during the NS regime 207

9 Conclusion 210

Appendix 1: German universities 222
Appendix 2: writers on Middle East subjects with more than ten publications 223
Appendix 3: university appointments 235
Appendix 4: appointments at the SOS (established in 1887) and at the faculty for the study of foreign countries/University of Berlin 288
Notes 290
Bibliography 310
Index 325

Figures

3.1 Publications according to major subjects and dates 67
3.2 Distribution—Arabic and Islamic studies vs. other topics 70
3.3 Distribution—history of the sciences vs. other topics 71
3.4 Distribution—*Kulturgeschichte* vs. other topics 72
3.5 Distribution—historical vs. contemporary issues 73
3.6 Publications on contemporary history, economy and administration (nineteenth and twentieth centuries) 74
3.7 Publications on pre-nineteenth-century history 75

Tables

3.1 Numbers of publications according to major subjects and dates 68
3.2 Distribution—historical vs. contemporary issues 74
3.3 Writers and their publications on Middle East topics (1850–1950) according to the number of publications per writer 76
3.4 Chronological overview on writers with seven and more publications 77
3.5 Numerical survey of writers on Middle East subjects with more than ten publications 78

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Abbreviations

ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Historische Kommission 1875–1912)
DAI	*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (German archaeological institute)
DBE	*Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (Killy/Vierhaus 1995–2000)
DMG	*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (German Oriental Society)
DOG	*Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft* (German Orient Society)
DVP	*Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung von Palästina* (German association for the exploration/study of Palestine)
GAL	*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*(Brockelmann 1898, 1902)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
KaEET	*Kommission für die archäologische Erforschung der Eurphrat- und Tigrisländer* (committee for the archaeological exploration of the Euphrates and Tigris regions)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Historische Kommission 1952–).
NS	National Socialist
NSDAP	*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeitspartei* (National Socialist German Workers Party)
OLZ	*Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*
REM	*Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (German ministry of education), established in 1934
SOS	*Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* (school/college for Oriental languages), established in Berlin in 1887
SS	*Schutzstaffel* ("Protective Squadron"), established in 1925, as Hitler's personal body guard
WI	*Die Welt des Islams*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

1 Introduction

> [The reader] will hardly learn anything about revolutionizing achievements in the field of Oriental studies; instead [he will learn] much about the turbulent, even tragic lives of scholars, who were destined to live during that long period of time, but who have long since been forgotten.[1]
>
> (Babinger 1957: 241)

In the introduction to his account of the history of Oriental studies at the University of Munich, from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, Franz Babinger (1891–1967) felt it necessary to lower the expectations of his readers: there are hardly any great achievements to report, and most of the scholars, who appear in his account, have been forgotten. Babinger's comment may come as a surprise, given that German scholarship has a long tradition in the field and that it can be credited with impressive achievements, also by international standards. The discrepancy does not appear to be just a function of local particularities. Munich has been one of the major German universities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Therefore, it seems more likely that Babinger's comment refers to the difficulty of adhering to the conventions of historiography, while narrating the history of a discipline. Conventionally, history tells the story of great men (and, more rarely, women) and their great achievements. This was certainly the case when Babinger wrote his account in the 1950s (Iggers 2005), and it is also today not totally out of fashion (e.g., Irwin 2006). But telling the story of a discipline at a university may require a different narrative strategy. If the aim is a comprehensive chronological account, the story has to include at least all scholars holding an appointment to a chair in the field, irrespective of their "greatness" or the lasting importance of their work.

In this study, I suggest that this problem in historiography arises not only with regard to the developments at a single university, but also for the history of the entire discipline. More specifically, I assume that a history that focuses on outstanding scholars and their work may be a great work in historiography (especially intellectual history), but it is not necessarily a history of the discipline as a formalized field of specialization at universities. This is not to deny that scholars like Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), for example, made very valuable contributions to the German scholarly discourse and

beyond. But the fact that neither of them were employed at German universities raises the question what the interrelation between their work and the formalized discipline may have been. It is at least thinkable that the institutional framework did not encourage or even discouraged such work. Of course, the examples cited could be just a matter of chance (Hammer-Prugstall having independent means; Goldziher being Jewish and Hungarian). There are further indications for the possibility of institutional limitations, however.

According to the generally accepted assessment, Middle East studies are a well-established research tradition in German scholarship, defined as Arabic and Islamic studies and distinguished not only by an impressive number of outstanding scholars, but also by a heavy and persistent focus on issues of language (in its classical form) and the early Islamic period. This raises the question why an academic field comprising so much knowledge and erudition should be so conservative, seemingly lacking in drive for innovation. Of course, also such "conservative" research projects as text editions, contributions to lexicography and grammar studies can lay claim to novelty, and often rightly so. But why were these persistently chosen over other projects? Why did history not attract more attention although more than a millennium could surely provide historians of all trends in historiography with ample opportunity for innovation? Why did the contemporary Middle East remain outside the scope of academic study?

In order to answer these questions, the present study suggests to change the perspective and to look at the field from the position of the practitioners, who made Middle East studies their profession; those who made the East (at the university) a career to use one of Edward Said's themes (1978: 5). The underlying assumption is that, if work conditions in the colonial service can influence research, there is no reason why work conditions at the university should have no bearing on academic pursuits. Shifting the focus from the research tradition to the researchers leads to the realization of a fact which has not yet received any serious attention, namely that the majority of scholars in the research tradition worked in academic positions, the delineation of which was not congruent with their field of research. Although the modern German research tradition in Middle East studies began in the first half of the nineteenth century, an investigation of university positions reveals that not even a single chair for Middle East studies, defined as Arabic and Islamic studies, existed at any German university throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. In other words, Middle East studies were not a discipline. This does not preclude the possibility that the disciplinary framework in which many of its scholars were employed had a major impact on the development of the field. Therefore an investigation on the institutional setting has to focus on that discipline.

In institutional terms, Middle East studies were part of university positions which were initially defined as *morgenländische/orientalische Sprachen* (Oriental languages), potentially including the entire "Orient," i.e., Asia and Africa, in practice mostly languages from a region stretching from the Middle East to India (Babinger 1957; Preissler 1995). In the course of time, the region expanded; and the terminology shifted towards Oriental studies by the end of the nineteenth

century. My investigation of the establishment and development of the discipline of Oriental languages/studies will show that discipline was by no means as static as might be expected in light of the remarkable "conservative" trend in the research tradition in Middle East studies and that the latter can even be explained by the transformations which the discipline underwent. Moreover, I wish to draw attention to the possibility that Middle East studies and its development may not have been the function of considerations regarding the Middle East. The conception of the field may have been a "side effect." Before discussing the present project in greater detail, a review of the literature seems to be in place.

The debate on the history of Middle East studies

For the last 25 years, the field of Middle East studies and its traditions have been more frequently topic for debate and investigation than ever before. Edward Said's critical book *Orientalism* (1978) and the controversy it sparked off (for an overview: Halliday 1993; Lockman 2004: 182–214) was certainly a major trigger for that heightened concern, but not the only one. At least two other interrelated factors contributed considerably. One is the more general debate in the humanities and social sciences regarding methodology and disciplinary boundaries, in particular the wide range of issues discussed under the headline of post-modernism/structuralism (e.g., Harvey 1990), which deeply effected also deliberations on the constitution and future of individual disciplines (for history: e.g., Appleby *et al.* 1994; Jenkins 1995, 1997; Wood and Foster 1997; Bentley 1999; Southgate 2001; Cannadine 2002; Iggers 2005), including Middle East studies (e.g., Ismael 1990; Sharabi 1990; Hourani 1991a; Ismael and Sullivan 1991; Gershoni *et al.* 2002). The other influential factor is a growing interest in the history of the sciences and academic disciplines, which again is in part inspired by the post-modern (e.g., White 1973) and critical approaches (for Middle East studies: e.g., Kerr 1980; Hussain *et al.* 1984; Rodinson 1987; Hourani 1991b; Naff 1993; Gallagher 1994; Turner 1994; Kramer 1999, 2001; Mitchell 2003; Lockman 2004; Gershoni *et al.* 2006; Irwin 2006).

In the current debate on the history of Middle East studies, these three lines of inquiry tend to converge on suggesting a double focus for investigation: political aspirations and/or interests in combination with the concept/notion of Middle East studies (e.g., Lockman 2004: 1–7). Given that colonialism and the modern academic pursuit of Middle East studies emerged at roughly the same time, the dual focus on concepts and interests may seem an obvious choice, especially with regard to British and French research traditions. By contrast, the German scholarly tradition might have followed a different development in light of the comparative lack of German colonial interests in general, and in the region in particular.

The history of Middle East studies in the German tradition has received considerable attention in the literature. Apart from studies on the live and work of individual scholars, works dealing with the developments at individual universities (e.g., Babinger 1957; Fleischhammer 1958; Rotter 1974b; Heine 1974, 2001; Preissler 1979; Nagel 1998) or a specific aspect of the field (e.g., Haarmann 1974,

Hagen 2004), and brief overviews on the history of the field (e.g., Fragner 2001), there are a number of extensive studies, four books (Fück 1955, Hanisch 2003; Mangold 2004, Ellinger 2006) and an extended essay (Johansen 1990), that discuss the developments of the entire field during specified periods. In the following, I shall review the debate and consider the implications for the present study.

In 1955, Johann Fück's study was published, in which he traces the tradition of Arabic studies in Europe. Fück began his research on the topic in the early 1940s. His study originally covered the history of Arabic studies until the beginning of the nineteenth century (1944). In his book (1955), he added an account of the developments until the beginning of the twentieth century. He kept the title, but explained that in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the field expanded to include also Islamic studies. Combining biographical with bibliographical data of individual scholars, the book provides an overview of the field throughout Europe from its beginnings in the twelfth century until the First World War. Two stages are identified in the development. The pre-modern traditions are shown to have usually been part of a "Christian agenda": facing and fighting Islam, the rival religion. The rare exceptions were individual scholars who remained outside the establishment, and their efforts had no immediate consequences. The transition to the modern tradition is thought to have occurred only by the end of the eighteenth century and especially at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In particular, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), teaching at the *École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* (established in 1795), is credited with the inauguration of modern scholarly studies of Arabic (1955: 140–52).

Though very thorough and informative, Fück's account aims at intellectual history rather than the history of the discipline. The format of bio-bibliographical sketches of scholars chosen for his account of the pre-modern period entails that concrete university practice is not systematically investigated. That such an investigation might add important aspects is illustrated by Stanislav Segert and Karel Beránek's history of the chair for Oriental languages at the University of Prague from 1348 until the university reform in 1848 (1967). There, all those who held the appointment are listed and for most of them a brief biographical sketch is provided. Judging from this not necessarily representative sample (a Catholic university), the appointment to the chair was for the vast majority a brief stage in a career that was neither centered on the university nor on the fight against Islam. In exceptional cases, someone appointed to the chair showed a greater interest and skill in Oriental languages, which tended to lead to a career change: employment at the censor's office.

A more serious methodological problem arises for Fück's account of the modern period, and in particular with regard to the German tradition. The bio-biographical approach which is employed both for pre-modern and modern periods, is based on the assumption that one person or very few and his/their work represent the field (or are the rare exception to it). If there is a trickle of diachronic developments, the story of the field can thus be told in the succession of these persons' stories. When the number of scholars increases and different developments occur contemporaneously, it becomes much harder, if not impossible, to present

a narrative. That is what increasingly happens to Fück's account from chapter 28 (Silvestre de Sacy) onwards to the last chapter, no. 87 (Arabic studies in Holland at the beginning of the twentieth century), that ends with the Dutch-based international project of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Fück's study is certainly very thorough. It is a real treasure box of information, though the sketches of individual scholars and their work became shorter and thus less lively as the account progresses towards the end of the nineteenth century, not least due to the growing number of scholars in the field and to considerations of space. Obviously aware of the problem, Fück tries to employ also structuring principles other than mere chronology, namely the concept of a "center" in combination with *tabaqat*, in the sense of teacher–student lineages in the order of generations. In addition, the academic discourse became more clearly set within the national context, not least due to the fact that it was conducted in the respective national languages rather than Latin commonly used until the late eighteenth century. The combination of the three structuring elements, national setting, "center," and *tabaqat*, works fairly well for the accounts of all European research traditions, apart from the German one. The success with regard to the other traditions may be attributable to a relatively small number of scholars in the (national) field and/or the existence of a "center", i.e., one eminent scholar or a group of such scholars working at the same location.

For his discussion of the German tradition, Fück employs the same structuring devices: the national frame (chapter 60), the concept of centers (chapters 63, 71; and partly, 79 and 81), and *tabaqat* (a main structuring device for many, but not all chapters on individual scholars). Each one only allows integrating a part of the tradition into a story, and also in combination with each other, they cannot account for what could be considered to be a substantial part. Fück cannot solve the problem, even though he resorts to removing those aspects that disturb the order most, by introducing a fourth structuring principle, namely a thematic one (chapters 35, 41, 61, 86). The respective success and failure of Fück's approach may partly be due to differences in the degree of centralization that characterized the various European university systems (Jarausch 1983b). More specifically, the decentralized German system comprising a large number of universities may have prevented both individual scholars and single institutions from achieving a position of hegemony over the entire system. By the same token, Fück is unable to integrate the relatively large number of players, be they scholars or institutions, into one story without such a hegemonic structure.

Rudi Paret's account, *The Study of Arabic and Islam at German Universities: German Orientalists since Theodor Nöldeke* (1966/1968), adopts another strategy, but appears to suffer from a similar problem. While Fück presents Arabic studies as the major tradition and Islamic studies as an addition, Paret shifts the emphasis from Arabic studies to the study of Islam. Though the beginning of modern Arabic studies from Sacy onwards is mentioned, as a sort of pre-history, in a section including also the Enlightenment and the Romantic period (1968: 5–8), the main part of the first chapter is dedicated to the study of Islam. Afterwards Arabic studies reappear, always in second place. The dry, factual account of past

scholarly achievements might obscure the programmatic nature of the text. As, for example, Reinhard Herzog shows (1983: 281–82), the account of the history of a discipline can be part of a bargaining process over its redefinition. Middle East studies defined as Arabic and Islamic studies were not an institutional reality at the time of writing. In passing, Paret laments the hardship encountered by a scholar specializing in Arabic and Islamic studies: he is not only expected to know *all* Semitic languages, but is also obliged to teach them (1968: 70–71). If Islamic studies are at the center of the field, Arabic studies are also required, whereas if Arabic studies are at the center, Islamic studies are an option, just as other Semitic languages are.

While the purpose of the account is discernible, the actual history of the field remains unclear. Judging from the headlines of the chapters, Paret's main ordering principles appear to be thematic categories and chronology. On first sight, Paret seems to distinguish in chronological terms three major periods: "the beginnings," "further development," and the development "since 1933." Closer inspection shows that Paret does not or cannot consistently adhere to the chronological principle. Also his second ordering device, namely thematic categories, does not seem to be sufficient in order to provide the narrative with a consistent structure. Following Fück's example, the first chapter dealing with Islamic studies is structured around individual scholars (A. von Kremer, T. Nöldeke, and J. Wellhausen; M. Hartmann, and C. H. Becker) in loose chronological order. Then Paret shifts modes. From the second chapter onward, he adopts thematic categories within Islamic and Arabic studies respectively, as the main structuring principle. Thus the account takes the form of a subject catalogue, or that of a "review of the literature." Given the format one expects that scholarly publications will be the main units and that their arrangement within each section will be determined by further thematic subcategories, chronology and/or formal (e.g., alphabetical) criteria. However, another category is introduced, namely the author/scholar, under the name of whom his various publications belonging to the thematic category of the section appear disrupting both chronology and the differentiation into thematic subcategories within the section.

Given Paret's considerable experience in professional scholarly writing, the disorder is not likely to be just a matter of an oversight. The idea may have come from Jean-Jacques Waardenburg's *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident* (1963). Waardenburg investigates research on Islam, which is thought to consist of a set of research issues. These thematic categories provide the basic structure of the study, in relation to which he investigates the lives and work of five scholars (I. Goldziher, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C. H. Becker, D. MacDonald, and L. Massignon). Despite their differences, both Paret and Waardenburg subscribe to the concept of objectivity, in the sense that the issues raised in research (the thematic subcategories) are considered a function of the object (e.g., Islam). Such a perspective allows comparing different answers given to the various research questions, as Waardenburg's study impressively illustrates. It also allows identifying, though not necessarily explaining, "failure" in the sense that specific research questions have not been addressed by individual scholars. However, by considering the thematic categories

as objectively given, this concept does not allow to question them as such and investigate why they have been raised as research issues. Due to the difference in scope between the two studies, with regard to both themes and the number of scholars investigated, Waardenburg contributes most to discerning differences between individual scholars, whereas Paret uses the concept to construct an apparently coherent account of the great achievements of the German research tradition in Middle East studies. Undoubtedly there are great achievements. What is missing is an explanation as to why these thematic issues have been raised. Thus Paret's study presents an inventory rather than a history of the field.

As its title indicates, Gernot Rotter's collection on Middle East studies at the University of Tübingen (1974a) may be an attempt to break the methodological deadlock by shifting the focus of the inquiry to local history. But that framework has inherent limitations. It does not allow to tell a story, in the sense of a narrative account of the development of the chair (and institute) of Middle East studies. The local framework provides a basis for recounting the scholars who held the chair in chronological order, to which a sketch on each scholar's life and work may be added. These sketches may be very good as biographical texts, but their assembly does not make a story. This does not imply that Rotter or other scholars who wrote such local accounts did not do their jobs properly. The missing story at a single university is much rather consequence and illustration of the decentralized academic system that comprised all German universities (e.g., Ben-David and Zloczower 1962; Baumgarten 1997). That means that the development at a single university can only be told as part of a story that comprises the entire system.

The "linguistic turn" in intellectual history hits the historiographic debate on the development of Middle East studies like a tidal wave in form of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), arguing that the Western tradition in Oriental studies has never been a matter of objective knowledge, but rather a function of persistent prejudice[2] and (colonial) politics. Though Said is neither the first one nor the only one to voice criticism (for examples of earlier critics: Halliday 1993), his contribution has an exceptional impact,[3] not least due to two factors: timing and the moral issue. With regard to the former, Said's book is published at a time when Middle Eastern studies are in the process of reorientation, including trends towards social history and new venues into Ottoman history (e.g., Lockman 2004: 148–81; Mitchell 2003), and it is a part of the post-structuralist currents affecting all of the humanities and social sciences (e.g., Appleby *et al.* 1994). In political terms, the publication of Said's book coincided with major events in the development of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict which reshaped public opinion: in 1974, the Palestine Liberation Organization obtained the status of observer at the United Nations; the Camp David Agreements were signed in 1978; and the Lebanon war started in 1982.

The other major factor contributing to its impact stems from Said's strategy to raise the issue of the relationship between Middle East studies and politics *cum* prejudice as a moral one by introducing a third "Orient" in addition to the two others, which the study sets out to investigate, namely the "Orient" as research object, and the "Orient" as product of prejudice and political aspirations. The third

one, the "Orient" as reality, is introduced by putting it "outside," beyond reach.[4] This present absentee adds a considerable moral (and political) dimension to what would otherwise be just another epistemological issue.[5] The present discussion will leave the moral question aside. This is not to deny its relevancy. Especially in light of the deadlock the debate seems to have reached by conflating the two issues, I believe that it is necessary to clarifying the epistemological issue before considering its implications, including moral ones.

To start with the positive contribution, Said effectively challenges the notion of objectivity in Oriental studies, namely the assumption that the research object is a given the very nature of which determines how it can or should be studied. Though Said's case against objectivity may have been a matter of beating a dead horse, at least with regard to the professional debate within the field, it is important for establishing a common basis which allows to consider the implications of the notion of research not constituted by objectivity and explore the options for further lines of inquiry. Said suggests two such options, namely investigating the influence of prejudice and of (colonial) politics on research.

A concise illustration of the potential range of the former can be found in Said's essay on the scholarly writings of Ernest Renan (1823–92) and Louis Massignon (1883–1962) in relation to French culture (1980). The investigation of the two scholars, chosen for being "polar opposites within Orientalism,"[6] leads to two different kinds of findings. With regard to Renan, Said can present the story (of a true villain) by placing his writings in the context of French culture at the time. By contrast, there is no story in Massignon's case, merely a lengthy deconstruction of his writings, which shows that Massignon studies Islam as a non-Muslim/Christian (1980: 69–70). In other words, Massignon's work is ultimately based on the concept of difference. From these (rather obvious) findings, Said concludes that Renan's story is also Massignon's, because Massignon, like Renan, bases his work on the concept of differerence, and he, like Renan, is a French philologist in France (1980: 71–72).

Considering here only the implications for the study of the history of the field, it seems that Said's argument closes rather than opens further research venues. The investigation of other scholars is bound to lead to the same findings as in Massignon's case, turning it into a pointless exercise. Thus all depends on the centrality, i.e., the hegemonic position of Renan—a proposition which cannot be unhinged because it is based on a circular argument. Said is able to find in Renan's writings the story of the functional incorporation of Oriental studies into the French cultural project because that is what Renan set out to do. By the same token, it is highly unlikely that one can find much textual evidence to the contrary. People are usually not in the habit of writing at length about projects they do not pursue. Since this strategy does hardly leave room for further research, or even debate, Said's lead is taken up in the form of rather impressionistic alternative accounts of the interrelationship between Oriental studies and European culture, as for example Maxime Rodinson's *Europe and the Mystique of Islam* (1980, 1987), and Albert Hourani's *Islam in European thought* (1991b). The credibility of both accounts is more a function of the moral standing of the author rather than of the strength of the argument.

The second line of inquiry which Said suggests, concerns the influence of (colonial) politics on research. Research projects in this field follow Said's theme of "the East as career" for Westerners (1978: 5) and investigate a scholar's professional writings in relation to his biographical involvement in the colonial project. Though not always (e.g., Mitchell 2002), the findings of such studies are quite often rather disappointing (e.g., Hussain *et al.* 1984). Possibly due to Said's emphasis on challenging the claim to objectivity, many studies seem to assume that their task is accomplished by proving biographical involvement, and thus miss out on a whole range of more intriguing questions. If there is no objectivity, it is obvious that a scholar's employment in the colonial administration can influence his research on the society under colonial rule. Unless the colonial administration is seen as a closed, coherent, hierarchically structured system, where every wheel in the machinery works exactly according to plan, the precise nature of such an influence would have to be discerned for every individual case. Moreover, assuming that work in the colonial administration can influence research, does not necessarily exclude the influence of other factors, nor can it be taken for granted that the "colonial" influence is the decisive one.

While the research venues which Said's thesis intended to open frequently turn out to be rather short dead-end streets, it seems that he provided the impetus for research in a field which he actually declares to be closed. Since the research object of Oriental studies (formal Orientalism) is argued to be the "Orient" as product of prejudice and political aspirations, there can be no Oriental studies, in the proper sense, in countries which have no colonies and/or colonial/imperialist interests in the Orient. If Oriental studies exist in such countries, they cannot be "authentic," to use a fashionable catchword. In other words, they have to be derivative. That is how Said presents German Oriental studies, which are thought to originate in the French tradition of the nineteenth century (1978: 17–19). This leads back to Renan and Massignon. Renan's story is thus extended beyond the borders of France. While German scholarship is credited with similar bonus points for compassion as are given to Massignon, German scholars are even less relevant for the story of Orientalism than Massignon, since they are not French philologists in France.

Said's suggestion to consider German scholarship as irrelevant for the study of Orientalism has not been heeded. Instead, his emphasis on challenging objectivity on grounds of colonial politics is taken to imply that objective scholarship remains an option for German scholarship, undertaken in a country without colonies or colonial/imperial interests in the Orient. For example, Peter Heine's distinction between pure scholarship and applied expertise in Middle East studies (*wissenschaftliche* vs. *angewandte Orientalistik*) is based on the question whether or not scholars work within a political framework (1984). The assumption of potentially objective scholarship has major implications for the way disciplinary history is approached and written. It reinforces the traditional trend of writing disciplinary history as intellectual history from an internal perspective.

In 1980 Josef van Ess published an essay on the conceptual development from Julius Wellhausen to Carl Heinrich Becker as part of the seventh Giorgio Levi

Della Vida award and lecture series (Kerr 1980), to which Said also contributed, namely his essay on Renan and Massignon. Coincidental as that might be, van Ess' study is not without parallels to Said's discussion of Renan. Similar to Renan, Wellhausen and Becker are located at the borders of the discipline. Wellhausen (1844–1918) made his name first of all as scholar in Biblical studies. When he got himself into trouble there, he had to switch to Oriental studies, in the context of which he wrote his contributions on the history of the Middle East; afterwards Biblical studies became again a major focus of his attention. Becker (1876–1933) started his academic career at the age of 26 when he became lecturer for Semitic languages. In 1916, at the age of 40, he left his academic position in order to pursue a career at the Prussian ministry of education and culture, which he eventually also headed as minister. Similar to Said's choice of Renan, van Ess chooses two scholars who in their own biographies connect Oriental studies with a wider social, institutional, and cultural context, in order to discern the emergence of the concept of *Kulturgeschichte* (history of culture). In his study, van Ess presents intellectual history at its very best, but a central question for the concerns of disciplinary history remains unanswered. Is the constitution of a discipline or field determined from its fringes? Put differently: How decisive or representative are Wellhausen's and Becker's concepts for the field?

An answer regarding the factual, not the methodological issues involved is given by Baber Johansen in his account of the history of the field (1990). The concept of *Kulturgeschichte* did not become a major current in the German tradition in Middle East studies (1990: 89). Johansen wrote his account as a critical reply to Said's thesis (1990: 74). Apart from some general critical comments concerning Said's essentialist approach to European culture (1990: 73–74) and the "scapegoat" strategy of his moral argument,[7] Johansen focuses on two issues, namely the question of hegemony, i.e., whether or not "Oriental studies became the Occident's leading ideological authority on the Orient," and the relationship between politics and scholarship (1990: 74). With regard to the former, Johansen argues that the hegemonic position was held by historians and in particular Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), who excluded scholars of Oriental studies from their ranks (1990: 79–83).

As for the relationship between politics and scholarship, Johansen identifies three stages at which politics effected scholarship, two of which are seen as political intervention proper, namely at the beginning, when political authorities established Oriental studies in the early nineteenth century (1990: 75), and during the NS rule when persecution of scholars and a restrictive cultural policy reduced the scope of the field (1990: 90–91). The third stage, which occurred in between, was Becker's cultural-history version of Islamic studies, where Oriental studies did not face politics as just an external force, but actually became part of it, though without gaining a position of hegemony (1990: 89–90).

In other words, for most parts of the discipline's history, politics were not a factor. In this sense, Oriental studies were pure science, and scholars were free do as they please. Thus the question arises why they did not use their freedom, but adhered instead to a very narrow concept of Oriental studies. Johansen is not able

to answer that question within his conceptual framework and therefore resorts to introducing a *deus ex machina*. He identifies Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer as "the Ranke" of Oriental studies.[8] Johansen does not provide any evidence for his thesis apart from a reference to Fück's list of Fleischer's students (Fück 1955: 119 n. 41). These were indeed numerous, but they were not the majority of German scholars in Middle East studies.[9] Moreover, there is no explanation how Fleischer should or could have achieved this eminent position. Ranke' s hegemonic position (e.g., Iggers 2005: 23–30) is seen to have stemmed from his ties to the Prussian political establishment, his historiographic approach geared towards the political expedience of the time (the Prussian version of German history) and his exclusive control over major research funds.[10] By contrast, Fleischer had none of these at his disposal,[11] he was not even Prussian. All that can be said is that Fleischer's work was within the mainstream of the German tradition and that he taught many students at the university of Leipzig, where he was professor of Oriental languages for more than fifty years. Fleischer was undoubtedly a part of the German tradition, but he cannot be shown to have shaped it single-handedly. Johansen's argument rests entirely on its resemblance to the "Ranke" thesis. The weakness is obscured and the resemblance reinforced by placing his discussion of Ranke right after the section on Fleischer (1990: 79). In conclusion, it seems that Said's emphasis on (colonial) politics in his challenge of objectivity in scholarship provides the basis for Johansen's thesis of Middle East studies in the German tradition as free (objective) science, which for some unexplained reason has not realized the potentials of its freedom. Thus Said's challenge to objectivity leads to its assertion in the German case.

This odd result with regard to German scholarship prompts Georg Stauth in his *Islam und westlicher Rationalismus* (1993) to reject Said's emphasis on politics and to shift the focus on an investigation of mentalities. He argues that colonialism does not only consist in the actual domination over an other society, as Said is thought to suggest, but also in the formation of a notion of the self as one that dominates "the other." The collective identity project of the dominating self does not require the presence of actual colonies (1993: 10–11, 57–63). On the basis of that assumption, Stauth investigates the interrelation between the emerging discipline of sociology and Oriental studies in context of the formation of German collective identity.

Apart from a linguistic style not conducive to any pleasure of reading and a certain lack of consideration for the sensitivities of historians (e.g., Theodor Adorno and Norbert Elias are said to find their synthesis in Max Weber -1993: 26–27), the study confronts the reader with a thesis that seems to eradicate itself in the course of the argument. By means of repetition, Stauth postulates rather than investigates the continuous determination of both fields, sociology and Oriental studies, by the German "introvert essence" (*Innerlichkeit*), which is said to draw its life and vigor from romanticism and to provide the most forceful strategy not only to face the hostile modern world, but to rule and dominate it. Due to the depth of the vision, reaching the innermost corner of the *bātin* (that what is hidden behind the surface, accessible for the initiate only), the Orientalist dissolves into the very essence of

modern (German) man, in his striving for power. In Stauth's account, Oriental studies and sociology appear as mere simulations—to an extent that those parts of the book in which he investigates actual scholars (especially chapters V and VI), which are highly interesting in themselves, are of no consequence or relevance for the argument.

Stauth's study is disappointing. It may be worthwhile considering what his study could have contributed, if he had done a better job. Stauth could have shown that the findings of research in Oriental studies and sociology can be integrated into the hegemonic cultural identity project. Such a thesis could challenge scholars who assume that their work in and by itself could be revolutionary in cultural-political terms. That may be a self-image widely found among sociologists (on the semantics in the self-image of social scientist: e.g., Lepenies and Weingard 1983: xiii–xiv), but it is not common among orientalists. As for the concerns of disciplinary history, the proof that the research findings can be integrated into the cultural identity project does not necessarily entail that the research was undertaken for that purpose. *Prima facie* this option seems rather unlikely, especially with regard to Oriental studies dealing with "the other." As such major identity projects as the one undertaken by Ranke (Johansen 1990: 79–83), and also minor, more private ones (e.g., Rosenzweig 1988, 2003) illustrate, the identity of the self tends to be constructed on the basis of prejudice, preferably undisturbed by knowledge about the other. If the motive would have been to assert one's own cultural superiority, it is hard to see why text editions were deemed important, summaries would suffice. Moreover, the proof that specific research findings were integrated in the hegemonic cultural project, does not necessarily entail that if the research findings would have been different ones, they would or could not have been integrated. Even if one does not agree with his conclusions, Herbert Marcuse can be seen to provide a rather strong argument for the assumption that any findings could be integrated (1964). This means that the approach suggested by Stauth cannot contribute to an investigation of disciplinary history that aims at explaining why a research tradition developed in a certain way rather than another.

An alternative to Stauth's study, in certain aspects its opposite, can be found in Alexander Haridi's M.A. thesis on the work of Carl Heinrich Becker (1995). It is a brilliant study pursuing deconstruction rather than integration. In the first part of the study, Becker's writings are investigated in order to discern his basic assumptions and concepts regarding Islamic studies. In the second part, Becker's work is placed in the context of the historiography at the time (historicism, Max Weber, and Ernst Troeltsch). The third part introduces the concept of Becker's rival Martin Hartmann; and the fourth part narrates Becker's victory over Hartmann. Part five documents the very limited reception of Becker's concepts in the German research tradition (Richard Hartmann, Jörg Kraemer, and Hans Heinrich Schaeder) and thus proves its lack of influence. Part six consists of a review how Becker's work has been evaluated in the literature. The overall framework of the study is the question whether Becker's approach can provide a basis for Islamic studies today.

Major parts of Haridi's findings are certainly relevant for a study on the history of discipline und contribute to the understanding of a minor current within the field. The matter may be different with regard to the method employed to study Becker's writings, and the results it yields. By very skillful deconstruction Haridi is able to find that Becker's concept of Islamic studies is ultimately based on the assumption of European cultural superiority. This is a highly relevant finding with regard to Haridi's overall question. If one considers using Becker's writings, it is very important to realize what one buys into. From the historian's point of view, the achievement is a minor one. That a person who leaves his academic career for employment at the Prussian ministry of education and culture, even rises to the top and becomes the minister, believes at the bottom of his heart in the supremacy of European/German culture may not be nice, but it is surely not surprising. Moreover, Becker's career is exceptional until 1933; no other scholars in Middle East studies moved from academia to the top layer of the political establishment, or even had close ties to these circles. Though informative and important it may be, Haridi's study cannot contribute much to the history of the discipline.

In her study *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten* (2003), Ludmila Hanisch provides a comprehensive account of the development of Middle East studies for the first half of the twentieth century, in which she attempts to realize the potential of the various approaches in the historiography of the field. She begins her account with the university reform at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which she attributes to Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), and an outline of the German (mostly Prussian) university system. The field of Oriental studies in the nineteenth century is not defined but discerned by delineation. The fields of neighboring disciplines (history, philology, theology, geography, and anthropology) circumscribe by exclusion the field of Oriental studies which is further bracketed by German activities in the Middle East (politics and archaeology). The presentation of the field's development from the late nineteenth century onward follows a similar strategy of bracketing. The separate accounts of the developments in the real Orient, of the German policy regarding the Orient, and of Oriental studies outside the university provide a frame or background for the presentation of the development of Middle East studies which combines the local histories at the various universities backed or supported by the biographies of the individual scholars (in the appendix).

Hanisch has assembled all the aspects which according to the historiographic literature on Middle East studies are potentially relevant for the understanding of the field. However, each of the numerous chapters stands on its own; the assembly does not integrate into a story. This result accounts for the fact that Hanisch's book has no thesis. She states in the introduction that Middle/Near East studies are characterized by an exegetical approach to texts in foreign languages and that this approach has not been changed despite the fact that it has been criticized on the grounds that it yields results which are comprehensible only to the experts in the field, and not to a wider (professional academic) public (2003: ix). Since the theme of exegesis is also part of the title of the book, one might expect a thesis concerning the stubborn adherence to that problematic approach. Hanisch continues, however, by declaring that a study on half a century of disciplinary

history cannot provide any answer to the problem. Instead, she attempts to contribute to the etiology of the negative and positive profile of Semitic, Arabic and Islamic studies in Germany.[12] Since Hanisch has utilized all suggestions found in the historiography of the field and has undertaken a very thorough research, one can draw the conclusion that the best result to be achieved on this basis is a multifacetted chronological inventory, but no story.

A parallel investigation of the development in the long nineteenth century is found in Sabine Mangold's study *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft"* (2004), based on very extensive and thorough research of both published and archival sources (2004: 23–27). Mangold divides her study into six parts. Beginning with an overview of the situation of Oriental studies in Europe at about 1800, the first part presents an account of the conceptual development: a new concept of Oriental studies, which placed Arabic, Persian, and Turkish at the center of the field, is said to have emerged (1810–40) entailing the transformation from a field fulfilling an auxiliary function for theology to an independent discipline. The novel delineation of the main languages is thought to have been established by Sacy and brought by his students to Germany (2004: 29–77, esp. 54–55). The second part discusses the next stage of the conceptual development (1835–80), namely the consolidation of the new discipline as Oriental philology under the lead of Sacy's students and in particular Fleischer. During that period, two "schools" are said to have emerged one at Leizpig (Fleischer) and another one at Göttingen (Heinrich Ewald), while disciplinary differentiation gave rise to Indian studies and Assyriology.

In the third part, Mangold shifts the focus of her discussion to the institutional development, which is traced from the initial establishment (1817–35), through a phase of consolidation (1840–75), to another phase of expansion (1875–1914). The fourth part deals with the German Oriental Society (*DMG*), established in 1845, while the fifth part treats the Institute for Oriental Languages (*Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen/SOS*), a non-academic training institute for civil servants (and members of the public) established in Berlin in 1887. In the sixth part, the discussion returns to the conceptual development, namely the trend from Oriental philology towards Islamic studies (1890–1914).

The interrupted account of the conceptual development and its separation from the institutional development already indicate that there might be a problem with the narrative's consistency and coherence. Closer inspection of her argument further supports the impression. Mangold not only accepts Johansen's thesis regarding the French origins of the discipline, but she elaborates on it and supports it with reference to two potential sources of Fleischer's influence. Based on statements made in his personal correspondence, Fleischer is seen to have spearheaded the successful creation of a "de Sacy cult," which entailed that only Sacy's students and their students strictly adhering to Sacy's method, were considered qualified Orientalists (2004: 41–42, 85–87). In addition, Fleischer's influence is thought not to have stemmed from his publications, but from his work as teacher (2004: 92–95). Fleischer is seen to have molded his students during personal encounters in such a way that Oriental studies did not become just a profession (*Beruf*), but rather a calling (*Berufung*) (2004: 295). If all scholars of Oriental studies at

German universities had indeed been members of such an exclusive, homogeneous group, resembling a sect, headed by Fleischer, the discipline's persistent focus and methodological approach could be ascribed to its dogmatic foundation.

Other parts of Mangold's study challenge such an interpretation, however. First of all, her account shows that Fleischer was not the only leading scholar in the field; she even argues that Heinrich Ewald (1803–75) headed a rival "school" (2004: 91, 95–100). Ewald who had not been trained by Sacy in Paris and did not adhere to Sacy's approach, is presented as a very influential scholar in the field, and his students included August Dillmann (1823–94), Rudolf von Roth (1821–95), Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), and Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). Moreover, Mangold's general thesis explicitly denies the validity of any interpretation which ascribes the formation and development of a discipline to the influence of one leading scholar. Instead, she claims to base her approach on the concept of the scientific community, which extends beyond the formal confines of the university, and in the case of Oriental studies was primarily represented by the *DMG*. The development of a discipline is seen not to be determined by its outstanding scholars, but rather by the "ordinary" members of that community (2004: 16–18, 290–92). The latter appear to have opted for the adoption of the philological model because it endowed their work with the legitimacy of "scientific rigor" (*Wissenschaftlichkeit*). They were thus able to establish Oriental studies as a discipline geared not towards any practical need, but to the pursuit of pure knowledge and truth (2004: 210–11, 292–93).

In its specific rendering, the thesis of the scientific community is not without chronological contradictions. Mangold finds that the legitimization of the new discipline of Oriental studies was questioned until 1840 and then again since the 1890s (2004: 294). But she also documents that the process of homogenization within the discipline occurred gradually from 1840 onwards. Moreover, the *DMG*'s publications are seen to have played a vital role in the process of establishing common scholarly standards, providing a basis for the discipline's academic legitimization (2004: 85–91, 201). The first forum was the *ZDMG*, which was published since 1847. However great its achievements may have been, they could only have been realized in the course of time. Thus they could not possibly have been the reason why the discipline's legitimization ceased to be questioned by 1840.

The contradiction in the argument is obvious. Both the general concept of the scientific community and the well-documented diversity of the group of scholars who specialized in Oriental studies exclude the option of seeing Fleischer as the person who actually determined the delineation of the field and its method. In this case, the story loses its historical actor in the traditional sense, which may be a very suitable perspective for the study of the development of a field within the highly decentralized system of German universities. But that also means that Fleischer and with him Sacy were only one factor among others that shaped the delineation of the field. The thesis that the scientific community sought academic legitimization by adopting a philological approach in pursuit of pure knowledge and truth is plausible, but it does not explain why the strategy was successful, in the sense that throughout the entire university system, university faculties considered a chair

for Oriental studies a necessity, and state governments were ready to pay for the expenses. Moreover, the resulting conception of the field remains too vague to explain the specific developments which the German research tradition actually underwent.

Mangold states that Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were the main Oriental languages, although many other languages including Sanskrit were also studied (2004: 53–54, 100, 294). Various sub-disciplines emerged and became institutionally independent in a process of specialization. For example, Mangold mentions Sanskrit studies and Assyriology (2004: 100–103, 160–67), but does not explain why these arose rather than others—apart from a reference to the "inherent logic of specialization."[13] On the basis of that logic one might just as well expect each of the three main languages to have emerged as a separate field of specialization, especially since the framework was philology rather than history or area studies. An exception is the rise of Islamic studies. Mangold shows the field to have emerged within the context of colonial politics (2004: 251–78). In this case, the study provides an explanation for the emergence of a new trend, which however did not succeed in institutional terms, because the scientific community preferred to uphold the philological framework (2004: 260–66). The reasons for that choice are not explained, nor are they obvious in light of the fact that although philology was the leading discipline in the humanities during the earlier parts of the nineteenth century, it lost this position by the end of the century. In sum, also Mangold shows Middle East studies to have been rather resistant to change, without explaining the phenomenon.

It might seem that an answer can be found in Said's thesis. He argues that a persistent pattern of thought has existed throughout European (and by extension: Western) history which conceives the East as "the Other" in derogative terms. In the early nineteenth century, Sacy, Renan (and Edward Lane, 1801–76) transformed that notion into an academic mold which became, and still is, the basis of all modern Oriental studies (1978: 123–66). Grounded on such a static basis, the academic discipline has not changed, except (superficially) for reasons of political expediency. Contrary to French and British academia (1978: 3–4, 11, 17), German scholarship on the Middle East is thought to have been purely derivative, adopting the academic stance molded by Sacy and Renan (1978: 17–19). Said's argument might be understood to imply that for lack of substantial colonial interests, the factor of political expediency did not trigger any changes in the appearance of the academic discipline in the German tradition—hence its unchanging format. However, that would take the argument too far. Even if Said could fully achieve his aim, by showing that the French and British academic traditions were determined by their respective colonial politics, it implies only that colonial politics did not play the same role in the German tradition, which is therefore of no interest to Said. He does not aim at explaining the German tradition.

Despite the inherent contradictions in the historical narrative, Mangold states her basic assessment very clearly. As the title of her book also indicates, she holds that throughout the nineteenth century until the First World War, the German tradition of the field was based on and followed a concept of scholarship (*Wissenschaft*)

that pursued "pure" knowledge for its own sake, without any practical utility. By contrast, Ekkehard Ellinger's dissertation *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1945* (2006), investigates a period in which all internal developments were overwritten by political factors in their most brute form. Ellinger sets himself the huge task of providing a comprehensive documentation and assessment of the interrelations between Oriental studies (in their widest sense) and the NS regime.

The first part of his study thus contains sections on individual scholars (2006: 31–74, 461–542); on non-governmental organizations related to the Orient (2006: 75–113); on state institutions (including libraries, museums, academies, and universities) and government policy in the field of education and internal affairs (2006: 113–87); and on foreign policy in the field of culture, both between 1933–39 and during the war (2006: 187–231, 231–75). The second part of his study focuses on scholarly literature in the field of Oriental studies with the intention to show that a fairly coherent ideological system, conforming with basic NS tenets, was established that included the Orient as a potential German ally, though not on an equal footing (2006: 293–418).

Ellinger's study also includes two brief overviews of developments before 1933, which are both meant to establish the subject matter of the study. Drawing on accounts available in the literature (not including Hanisch 2003 and Mangold 2004), Ellinger's first overview (2006: 7–30) leads to the conclusion that

> A wide spectrum of German academic Oriental studies had been established by the end of the Weimar Republic. Moreover, the systematic employment of orientalists in the framework of the colonialist and imperialist foreign policy of the German Empire [*Kaiserreich*] and during the First World War indicates the compatibility of scholarship, ideology, economy and politics. Comprising Arabic studies, Semitic studies, Turkish studies, Iranian studies, North African studies, research on the Soviet Union, archaeology, philosophy, art history, geography, history, theology, the history of medicine, the history of the sciences and Islamic studies, Oriental studies dealt with the pre-Islamic and Islamic Orient from North Africa via Turkey and the Arabian Peninsula to Iran and Afghanistan from the seventh century until the present.[14]
>
> (Ellinger 2006: 29–30)

This very wide and rather idiosyncratic definition of Oriental studies, which is not comprehensive (India, the Far East and most of Africa are missing) and the implied equality among the various sub-disciplines listed are crucial for Ellinger's line of argument in the main part of his study, where the importance of Oriental studies during the NS period is—to a considerable degree—hinged on the relevancy of Turkish (and, much more limited, Islamic) studies for the pursued conquest of the Soviet Union, and—secondarily—on that of "North African" and Iranian studies for other conquest plans. There is no evidence, however, to support his delineation of the discipline as it developed until the end of the Weimar Republic.

Also his second historical overview covering the developments from the rise of Islam in the seventh century until 1933 (2006: 278–92), which precedes his investigation of the literature, comes to a "necessary" conclusion:

> The combination of the intellectual hegemony of the European civilization with the German claim to economic hegemony facilitated by its relations with Oriental nations was the end-product of the intellectual and disciplinary developments reached by Oriental studies shortly before the government was taken over by the National Socialists. Irrespective of whether hegemony in religious, scholarly, cultural, economic, racial, linguistic or national terms was concerned, the interplay of ideology and scholarship was able to create an ever more refined system of categories, that could be combined in a great number of different variations, and thus allowed defining the relations with the Orient either by fundamental and insurmountable differences or by common grounds—depending on the interests pursued.[15]
>
> (Ellinger 2006: 292)

Since the historical overview aims at showing that "anything goes" in conceptual terms by 1933, it is not surprising that Ellinger does not focus on the details of actual developments, which is anyhow hardly possible if thirteen centuries are "covered" on fifteen pages of text.

The review of the literature shows that Middle East studies in the German tradition has received considerable attention in research. Nonetheless, there are still many open questions: What was the reason for establishing Oriental studies at German universities? Was the "French model" adopted? And if so, why did that happen? And once established, why did the academic pursuit in the German tradition, largely unhampered by colonial politics, not conform to what might be expected from an academic discipline, namely to strive for new horizons and innovations? In other words: Why was the field apparently so conservative? Especially in light of the very thorough studies undertaken by Hanisch and Mangold, it seems that the lack of explanations is not due to any deficiency on the part of the research, but that it may rather be a result of the approach employed which sees the history of the field as an internal development. Therefore, there may still be room for the alternative approach suggested here.

The history of a minor discipline

The present study attempts to investigate the development of Middle East studies as a part of a wider discipline, namely Oriental studies, which was a minor discipline at the faculty of philosophy. Traditionally, disciplinary history consists of an account of the research tradition as it manifests itself in scholarly publications, in form of a narrative. The approach and methods employed place this kind of historiography within the history of ideas and intellectual history. In light of its aim, the present study suggests shifting the focus from the research tradition to the researchers as professional scholars pursuing an academic career at the university.

The change of focus entails the need for an alternative approach. How can the history of a research tradition in a minor discipline be written?

My survey of the literature did not lead to any proper answer to the question. The issue of how the history of a research tradition within a minor discipline, or even the history of a minor discipline, should be written has not been addressed in the methodological debate. Turning to the historiography of major disciplines instead might seem the obvious choice, but not necessarily a fruitful one. The traditional approach to writing disciplinary history has clearly been dominant until the late 1970s. Variations can be found between a history of ideas and intellectual history. In the latter, ideas are connected with "a human face," namely the biographies of individual scholars. In this sense, they are placed into historical context. The obvious benefits of such contextualization not withstanding, intellectual history still adheres to the narrative framework of the history of ideas: the "chain of ideas" connects one individual scholar to the next. The main reason for the dominance of this approach is the function of disciplinary history with regard to the discipline itself.

The function is seen to differ depending on whether the field in question belongs to the humanities or the sciences. "[T]he humanities could almost be defined as those disciplines in which the reconstruction of a disciplinary past inextricably belongs to the core of the discipline" (Lepenies and Weingard 1983: xv). In other words, the deliberate constitution of a discipline as a discourse defined as a tradition of citation means that disciplinary history is usually written in the form of an expanded version of "a review of the literature" or "the state of the art," with which every research project in the discipline itself begins. Such disciplinary history shares not only the form of the disciplinary practice, but also its legitimating function. This explains why disciplinary histories tend to be written when the discipline itself is about to undergo major change, i.e., "the use of historiography in the sense of a programmatic steering of future planning of research" (Herzog 1983: 281–82). It also explains why the historiographic approach does not tend to be open to debate, as is still clearly visible in a collection on the *Functions and Uses of Disciplinary Histories* (Graham *et al.*1983): five contributions deal with the history of science disciplines, four with those in the social sciences, and only one with a discipline in the humanities, namely classical philology, which—in the view of the author—has came to an end in the 1970s (Herzog 1983).

Even when disciplinary history in the sciences adopts the same historiographic approach as it is used in the humanities, its relation to the field is thought to be quite different. In the sciences, it is "preface history" (Kuhn 1962). In other words, the history of a science discipline is seen as external to the discipline itself. It is written *post factum*, not with any programmatic intention. Its legitimating function with regard to the discipline itself is much less crucial for the latter than in the humanities. Moreover, since the model for a history of the field is not available internally, the choice of approach becomes less a matter of course, and potentially one of deliberation. Since disciplinary history is not a concern of the scientists as such, the choice is likely to be in practice determined by considerations of convenience and just follow the dominant approach of the genre (Lepenies and Weingard 1983: ix).

Thus scientists and historians had, each for their own reasons, no particular incentive to search for alternative approaches to disciplinary history. Sociologists have taken the initiative, instead. Though not without precursors, Karl Mannheim (1893–1947) is credited with raising the sociology of knowledge as a major issue, when he published his *Ideologie und Utopie* (1929). The shift from the history of ideas to intellectual history may be seen as a partial answer to that challenge, but it did surely not explore its entire potential (e.g., Meja and Stehr 1982). The strong emphasis on the question of ideology is likely to have made this sociology of knowledge rather unattractive for historians, in particular in light of the persistent dominance of "political history" which characterized the discipline at German universities (Iggers 2005: 31–40).

Another option for approaching disciplinary history not only as intellectual history in the strict sense may have emerged indirectly, as the result of developments in a different, though related field of research, namely the history of education including universities. Since 1885, Friedrich Paulsen, by profession philosopher and educator, published his accounts on the development and state of education (Paulsen 1885, 1902, 1906). Until today, his concept of education is seen as a comprehensive one, fully including social and cultural history (Ungern-Sternberg 1987: 379). Despite the early beginning, the history of education became a major field of research only in the second half of the twentieth century (e.g., Jeismann and Lundgreen 1987; Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989a; Berg 1991)—a development to which sociology, combining research trends of the sociology of professions (since the 1930s) and of the sociology of science (*Wissenschaftssoziologie*, since the 1950s), made a considerable contribution (Stichweh 1994: 279–80).

For example, in 1956, Christian von Ferber published a first sociological profile of the career patterns of teaching staff at German universities and the changes these underwent from 1864 to1954. Ferber's statistics were not very refined, in so far as they did not allow identifying possible differences between universities nor those within each university. Nonetheless, his work provided the foundation for the investigation of scholarship as university profession. In 1962, the same year Thomas Kuhn published his study on *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, the connection between the work conditions of the profession and research proper was made. Joseph Ben-David and Awraham Zloczower argued that scientific innovations can be seen as a function of job opportunities and work conditions at universities—based on research on the development of scientific innovations in the field of medicine at German universities.[16] These and other contributions did not remain without impact, on both sociology and history. As for the latter, they became standard reference within the emerging research tradition on the history of education, which found a major synthesis is the *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*. One of the reasons for the success might have been timing.

The field of history at universities in the Federal Republic of Germany was undergoing considerable changes. In the course of the 1960s and early 1970s, a major wave of retirements and continuous university expansion, including that of teaching positions, provided the opportunity for a generation of young historians to enter the profession, many of whom had a particular leaning towards the social

sciences. The appointments of Hans Ulrich Wehler (1971) and Jürgen Kocka (1972) at the University of Bielefeld marked the beginning of the formation of the "Bielefeld school," a historiographic trend which defined itself as historical social science (*Historische Sozialwissenschaft*) focusing in research on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its growing influence on the field of history throughout the Federal Republic was in no small measure due to its relatively large-scale monograph series, *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* (since 1972) and its journal *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, since 1975 (Iggers 2005: 65–77; Wehler 1980).

In the first instance, the trend toward research on the history of education following the historical social-science approach focused on the history of the universities as educational, training institutions. For example, a collection of studies traced the transformation of higher learning on a transnational comparative level (Jarausch 1983a). But as already Peter Lundgreen's programmatic essay on a social history of education (*Sozialgeschichte der Bildung*) suggested in 1977, the approach was meant to extend its line of inquiry also to educational institutions, including universities, as places of work, which had the potential to open a new perspective for the historiography on disciplinary history.

In 1984, Wolfgang Weber published such a study on the history of history as an academic discipline, combining two major lines of investigation, a prosopographical study of the professors for history at German universities (1800–1970) in conjunction with the reconstruction of three teacher–student lineages, namely those of Ranke, Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–86), and Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903). The two parts are held together by Weber's main thesis concerning the explanation for the dominance of Ranke (and his students) over the discipline, which had usually been attributed to two factors: the attraction of his "product" (the Prussian version of German history) and his strong ties to the political establishment, in particular the Prussian king (e.g., Iggers 2005: 23–30). Weber's study intended to show the importance of a third factor: Ranke's exclusive control over major research funds in combination with university structures, both as training institution (the student's absolute dependence on his teacher) and as work place (a career path of which at least the first decade after graduation usually required work without salary).

Weber's example has not been adopted for accounts of the history of other disciplines. Three factors might account for that failure. In part this may be due to the fact that Weber's book did not contribute to the joy of reading (some 600 small-print pages, containing hardly any narrative to keep the reader in suspense). Second, and more importantly, one may doubt whether the model would be suitable for the history of other disciplines. In particular, in the second part, the very lengthy *tabaqat* make sense only in cases with such a dominant figure like Ranke.[17] The third factor might again be timing. Weber's publication coincided with two trends, one major and one minor. The former was "the linguistic turn" as a new central current in historiography, in particular in intellectual history (e.g., Jay 1982; La Capra 1985; Toews 1987). For disciplinary history having traditionally followed the approach of intellectual history, this new current may have been

much more attractive. Weber's example of gathering endless amounts of date to produce a kill-joy text full of tables and statistics could hardly compete with the prospect of being at the forefront of the latest fashion.

The minor trend was a shift in emphasis from historical social science to social history with a leaning towards cultural history in German historiography (e.g., Kocka 1986), which might have been part of the general reorientation from "macro-to micro-history" (Iggers 2005: 101–17). The reorientation did not lead to a total break. In the history of education, the shift mainly aimed at redressing the (im)balance between statistics and narratives. Prosopography, as employed by Weber, had already been a major tool in the historical social science (Schröder 1985), which was mostly used to establish "the facts" of life and work. With the turn to social/cultural history, the emphasis shifted to the reconstruction of experience, which in turn lends itself more readily to the inclusion into a study of wider processes.

A decisive contribution facilitating the transition may have been the example set by Pierre Bourdieu's *Homo academicus*, which was published in French in 1984. The German translation appeared in 1988, when also the translation to English was published. As the title indicates, Bourdieu considers scholars from all disciplines to belong without distinction to the same research category to be investigated by means of a singular methodological device, namely the concept of social practice. Though Bourdieu does not use the term prosopography, he employs the method. The concept of social practice (in distinction to the actions of an individual) entails that his main research units are groups which he profiles, not just in order to establish "facts," but rather to provide an explanation for a highly political event, the "student revolt" in the late 1960s. Despite its political punch line, the study reduces the edge from the "ideology" issue. Scientific objectivity and ideology are no longer perceived as the two opposite poles on a scale. Bourdieu shows that academic decisions are neither the function of scientific objectivity, nor—in most cases—that of any proper ideology, but rather stem from such practical considerations as career and employment strategies. At the same time, the political actors, namely the demonstrators, who see themselves as having a high ideological motivation, turn out to be driven by their anger about deficient academic employment opportunities.

An example for the readjusted use of prosopography can be found in Marita Baumgarten's study on German professors at the faculty of philosophy in the nineteenth century (1997). She has chosen six universities: two large ones, two medium-size ones, and two small ones; in each category a Prussian one, and one belonging to another German state. Her study uses the biographical data of all professors who held a chair at the faculties of philosophy at these six universities (both in the humanities and the sciences), to discern career patterns and their developments in order to trace processes of differentiation within the faculty and the changing interrelations among the universities. The overall aim is to define the position of the University of Berlin within the German university system: a central position within a de-centralized system.

Olaf Willett's study on the social history of the professors at the University of Erlangen (2001) provides another example within a different overall concept.

The University of Erlangen is chosen as a small, provincial, Protestant university in Catholic Bavaria. The timeframe brackets two major events in the university development: the transition from the ideal of the scholar distinguished by his encyclopedic knowledge to that of the research scholar with specialized expertise at the turn to the nineteenth century; and the pinnacle of international fame which German scholarship reached at the turn to the twentieth century. The prosopography includes all professors from all faculties and attempts to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of their world and the changes it underwent in the course of time: including the social and family background, patterns of education and professional training, employment and career patterns, social life and world views.

As these examples illustrate, the social history approach to the history of the university has greatly contributed to understanding the development of universities both as institutions of training and as places of work. However, the implications of the approach and its findings for the study of disciplinary histories have not yet been explored. Willett explicitly states that his study is geared towards an investigation of the general interrelations between culture and/or cultural practice on the one hand, and social and professional structures on the other; therefore it does not intend, nor is it able, to explain developments in disciplinary histories (2001: 25).

The lack of interest in disciplinary history may in part be due to the limitations of the methodological tool, namely prosopography. Irrespective of whether the results are presented in figures and charts or as narrative, it is a statistical method and it shares with all statistics the problem of small numbers. A discipline, even a major one, might be too small a unit for that purpose, especially since the group under investigation has to be limited to professors holding a regular chair, in order to ensure the selection to be based on the same criteria for all. This means that all lecturers, assistant professors, honorary professors, and most appointments *ad personam* are excluded. Weber identified some 700 regular professors for the discipline of history (1984: 597–613). History is a major discipline; the period under investigation is very long one (1800–1970); and Weber's study does not need to distinguish between sub-disciplines, since his thesis concerns the entire discipline. By contrast, most disciplinary histories might require shorter timeframes, or at least the option of distinguishing shorter periods; and they most certainly necessitate a differentiation within the discipline itself, among both sub-disciplines and research trends. The need for smaller research units leads to the problem of small numbers.

A prosopographical perspective may nonetheless be relevant for disciplinary history, even of minor disciplines. Even if the data pertaining to such minor fields is unsuitable for proper statistical evaluation, prosopographical studies done for entire faculties or universities can be used in order to discern biographical patterns in the data related to a specific discipline and/or its subunits. In practical terms, this means that the biographical data of the scholars in the discipline remain an assembly of individual biographies which have to be read—one by one—within the comparative framework of available prosopographies. The findings of such a reading cannot lay claim to the certainty that statistics are thought to provide.

But they allow formulating an informed guess regarding biographical patterns in the discipline.

Rudolf Stichweh has investigated the emergence of physics as modern discipline. His initial study was published in 1984, and ten years later appeared a collection of his articles which discuss various aspects of the conceptualization. Drawing on the findings of the history of education, Stichweh discusses disciplinary developments in conceptual terms which allow identifying a line of inquiry. He distinguishes between the stage in which the discipline emerges as such and a later one in which internal differentiation takes place. The close interrelation between the university and school education is of central importance for the initial stage. Only subjects taught at (high) schools would become major disciplines at universities, since their primary task was to train future high-school teachers. Moreover, once high school teachers had undergone university training in their specific subjects, basic training in these disciplines could be provided at school level. This in turn allowed university training to be restructured, by shifting the emphasis from basic training to research. In the stage of differentiation within the discipline, decisive importance is given to two different factors: first, the structure and kind of teaching obligations within the university, which concerns in particular the questions of how specialized lectures/seminars could be, and how many and what kind of tools and facilities were available for research-oriented student training. The second factor is the relation between professional work in and outside the university, both in practical and conceptual terms. This means the number and type of employment opportunities for professionals outside the university (and school); the potential for doing research in such employments; and the conceptual distinction between academic and non-academic work that informed university policy at the time.

Even in this very brief sketch, it becomes obvious that the development of a minor discipline cannot be the same as that of a major one. However, a comparison between major and minor disciplines within this conceptual framework may help to explain the development of a minor discipline. By definition, minor disciplines were those which were not subjects for teachers' exams, in other words, not high-school subjects. Hence, basic training in minor fields had to be part of the university education, leaving a comparatively small share to research-oriented training, unless students in minor disciplines would study much longer than other students. At the same time, university teachers in minor fields had to dedicate much of their time to the basic training of their students, while receiving probably less assistance, since university funding tended to follow the differentiation between major and minor disciplines. Therefore, they were likely to have less time for research. This put research in minor disciplines at a disadvantage, which was more than just a function of the number of scholars in the field.

Since the comparative framework seems promising, it has been adopted for the present study. But on its own, it is not sufficient, due to a difference between major and minor disciplines regarding the delineation of the field. The close interrelation between a major discipline and a school subject in the initial phase makes the identification of the subject matter of the discipline (seem) unproblematic. This is quite different for minor disciplines. Also for them, the delineation of the subject matter is likely to be made outside the discipline itself. In light of the fact that the primary function of universities is teaching, the assumption of an internal definition would necessarily entail the systematic possibility of a university establishing a chair and employing a professor (for life) just in order to train the one student that will become his successor, and a few others who study just for fun. That seems a very unlikely kind of action for an institution that has always been hard pressed for funds.

The alternative is to see a minor discipline as a part of a wider complex, the center of which is constituted by one or more major disciplines. In such a situation, the subject matter of the minor discipline is to a considerable extend determined by the delineation of the major disciplines at the center. In practical terms, this means that universities can expect that an in cost–benefit terms reasonable amount of students of the major discipline(s) will also enroll in courses of the minor disciplines within that complex, for auxiliary and supplementary training. In order to discern the subject matter of a minor discipline, the investigation has to begin by identifying the wider complex of disciplines to which it belongs.

The constitution of the minor discipline within a complex of disciplines may have further implications for the way the history of that discipline can be studied. An indication as to what these implications might be can be found in an article by Wolf Lepenies (1977), which deals with a different issue, namely his program for historical studies of science in distinction to the traditional history of science. The former is supposed to take one basic methodological assumption as its starting point, namely "the idea of discontinuous processes of development" (1977: 61). The ultimate aim is to identify and explain major "breaks" and "revolutions" in scientific thought, as for example the "temporalization" which characterized scientific development around 1800 and found its expression in the appearance of a historical approach in various disciplines, including philology (1977: 63–65).

Though "temporalization" may have been one of the contributing factors for the establishment of modern Oriental studies in the early nineteenth century, the present study is not likely to focus on major breaks and revolutions. But the conceptual-methodological considerations may be of interest. Lepenies suggests studying a complex of disciplines, rather than a single one. In such a complex, the disciplines are interrelated in a way that corresponds to the structural interrelation of thematic categories pertaining to one major thematic issue ("problem-field") which is common to all the disciplines (1977: 60). By shifting the focus from a single discipline towards a complex of disciplines sharing a common theme, discontinuities will become visible (by a sort of amplifying effect), which the concept of continuity in the traditional history of single disciplines has obscured. Moreover, the approach provides an explanatory framework (hopefully extending from the complex of disciplines itself to the patterns of everyday life experience) that allows accounting for discontinuity which cannot be explained within the confines of a single discipline.

Lepenies' concept of a complex of disciplines, the structured interrelations of which corresponds to a thematic theme and its categories, introduces a variety of options for potential factors for change, that may be worthwhile exploring also for

an investigation of the history of a minor discipline, which is by definition part of a structured complex of disciplines. Thus the developments within the discipline itself may have to be related to changes occurring within the discipline(s) at the center of the complex; and/or in the structure of interrelations among the disciplines in the complex; and the consequences of "realignments," in case the minor discipline in question moves (or is moved) to another complex of disciplines.

Two recent examples of studies aiming at an institutional contextualization are found in the literature that might further assist the present investigation. One is Randall Collins' huge work on the sociology of philosophies (1998). As is already obvious in the title, Collins is not concerned with disciplinary history. He presents a universal sociology of thinking centering on networks of intellectuals on the basis of interaction rituals, that is said to provide a universally valid explanation for intellectual change (chapters 1–2). On some thousand pages, Collins attempts to prove his thesis by giving an account of the development of philosophy throughout human history. In the course of the reform of German universities since the beginning of the nineteenth century, philosophy conceived as intellectual community, attained an institutional basis which influenced the canon of ideas and its further development. The latter is traced in the changing patters of interrelations between philosophy and other disciplines (chapters 12–13). Though Collins' discussion of the impact of the university as institutional framework on the intellectual tradition, and of the development of the discipline of philosophy, in interaction with several other disciplines makes interesting and inspiring reading, it is doubtful whether his methodological tools can be effectively adopted for the present study. Both the intellectuals and the ideas which he investigates, are of very high profile and thus easily identifiable. In contrast, the scholars in Middle East as well as Oriental studies and their ideas were much less distinguished, and thus also less distinguishable by the means employed by Collins.

The second work is Suzanne Marchand's study on the history of archaeology in Germany (1996). Her study is not conceived as disciplinary history (1996: xxi), not least due to the fact that archaeology emerged as a discipline only by the end of the nineteenth century. For much of her account, archaeology was a research tradition, which emerged inside the discipline of classical philology, but was sidelined in the 1820s. For most of the nineteenth century, its institutional bases lay outside the university. It was there that the field's main development occurred, which eventually also transformed the discipline of classical philology and led to the establishment of archaeology as a discipline towards the end of the nineteenth century. Marchand's account is obviously relevant for my investigation on the history of Middle East studies, for which the developments in both classical philology and archaeology are important.

Regarding methodological tools, the relevancy may be more limited. The study certainly provides very useful elements for comparison and means to analyze parallel developments. At the same time, there are important differences. Archaeology can be seen as the field that actually determined developments, while this is not necessarily the case in Middle East or even Oriental studies. While Marchand can concentrate on archaeologists to consider their impact on others, my investigation has to find "the others" who may have had an impact on the field and the discipline. Moreover, Marchand can use philhellenism as umbrella which provides a framework for her account. My study has no such integrative concept at its disposal, that could *a priori* set the boundaries for the discussion.

To sum up the argument: Following the lead of Ben-David and Zloczower (and Said), I suggest shifting the inquiry to the interrelation between research and the institutional framework, in which scholars were employed. Drawing on the findings of research on the history of universities, my investigation aims at exploring the options of writing the history of Middle East studies as a part of the history of the discipline of Oriental studies. The conceptual framework required for the latter draws on Stichweh's conceptualization of the emergence and development of physics as a (major) discipline, which is modified to suit the particularities of a minor discipline. The modification is based on the set of research questions, which are derived from Lepenies' methodological considerations concerning the study of discontinuous processes of development and from comparison to Marchand's study on the history of archaeology.

The history of Middle East studies as a part of disciplinary history

What could the writing of the history of an academic field gain from considering the institutional context? Ben-David and Zloczower argue that scientific innovations can be seen as a function of job opportunities and work conditions at universities (1962). Considering that the research tradition of Middle East studies was created by scholars, the professional expertise of whom was—in its institutional definition—a field wider than the Middle East, it is conceivable that in such a setting innovations occurred in the parts of the field that lay outside the Middle East (since the rise of Islam). Thus the discipline was not as static as it is usually depicted, while at the same time there was little change with regard to the research on the Middle East.

This view does not alter the result, namely the body of scholarly writings on Middle East studies, but it may provide an explanation. If the investigation is limited to the research tradition of Middle East studies, the reason for change and/or its absence is likely to be sought in the concepts held by scholars regarding to what should or should not be done to the Middle East as research object. Johansen provides an explicit example, when he argues that "Fleischer transformed the Orient into grammar and lexicography" (1990: 77). Taking the context of the profession into account, may show that innovations and/or their absence did not result from considerations, let alone concepts regarding "the Middle East," and possibly not even "the Orient."

The latter becomes an option, since the discrepancy between the research tradition and the profession was not the only aspect of the work conditions that might have shaped the research tradition of Middle East studies within the frame-work of Oriental studies. As in many other Western academic systems, Oriental studies were a minor discipline in the German university system. Nonetheless a relatively large number of chairs of Oriental studies existed, due to the considerable number of

German universities, including, even at their lowest point, more than twenty universities (Appendix 1). In the Western academic system, these numbers were quite exceptional, only surpassed by those in the United States, where Oriental studies were not widespread, however. Although not all German universities established a chair for Oriental studies in the course of the nineteenth century, many of them did. In terms of academic professions, the amount of positions available in Oriental studies offered a considerable job market. This setting had a number of implications for a scholar in Middle East studies pursuing a career at the university. A brief outline of some major ones may serve as illustration.

In a system where only a single or very few positions exist and the average term of tenure extends over decades rather than months or a few years, incumbents are unlikely to fit a profile (e.g., Bosworth 2001). Getting appointed to such a position cannot realistically be part of a career plan. The situation changes as the number of positions available rises. The increased frequency of appointments can provide a plan to obtain such an appointment with a reasonable, though by no means certain chance for realization. The option of a planned career was further enhanced by the structuring of university careers in general in the wake of the reforms in the nineteenth century. While in the early nineteenth century, a scholar could still become an *ordinarius* (professor) on his first university appointment, in later years, he was required to pass through the various stages of the established university career (dissertation, *Habilitation*, lecturer, *extraordinarius*) at the end of which, as its apex, was the position of *ordinarius* (chair).

One of the results was that scholars who had considerable private means at their disposal (*Privatgelehrte*) were rarely found in university circles. For them the structured career path was rather unattractive. In other words, most scholars who pursued a university career had to make a living. This concern may have been of particular centrality for scholars specializing in Middle East/Oriental studies, because they had hardly any employment opportunities outside the university, not least due to the lack of colonies. Being dependent on a university career, a prospective scholar had to cope with the difficulties arising from the fact that only an *ordinarius* received a proper salary, i.e., a salary that could secure his livelihood. Therefore, he would have to find a way to earn a living until he was appointed to a chair (and in case he was not able to obtain an appointment)—a temporary employment that would not only sustain him, but also allow him to continue research and publication.

The latter became a major criterion for university appointments, especially due to another change in university policies. While in the eighteenth century, appointments had to a large extent been a local, internal affair, in the sense that a university chose a scholar from among its graduates for employment, hiring became increasingly external, i.e., recruiting graduates and scholars from other universities, in the nineteenth century. Given the geographical distances and the limited means of transport at the time, the relevance of personal contacts for employment declined, though it did certainly not vanish, while the importance of academic publications increased. Moreover, major decisions concerning employment were not made within the field. The faculty drew up a list of suitable candidates in order of

preference, and the responsible ministry of education and culture made the actual appointment. In consequence, professional qualification was not only measured against standards internal to the specific field, but it had also to be explicable to scholars from other disciplines within the same faculty, and even to non-scholarly minded representatives of the ministry.

Qualification does not exist in absolute terms; it is always a qualification for a specific task. The definition of what that task may be is likely to differ depending on whether it is seen from within the discipline, from the perspective of the faculty or of the ministry. Both faculty and the ministry, each with its own particular emphasis, can be expected to evaluate the suitability of a candidate for a position also with regard to faculty and university projects in general, beyond the immediate concerns of the discipline in question. Thus their considerations do not necessarily focus on issues of research on the Middle East or the Orient, they may not even focus on research at all. Usually the modern university is seen to distinguish itself from its eighteenth-century predecessor by shifting the criteria for qualification from encyclopedic knowledge to research. True as this observation may be, it obscures the fact that universities were not academies, which were established separately.[18]

In the eighteenth century, the primary function of the university was to attract paying students and train them for graduation. The same held true for the modern university. In the nineteenth century this function may even have become more prominent in the process of the consolidation and expansion of the power of the state vis-à-vis society. Though universities had a certain degree of autonomy, their independence could go only as far as their financial resources would carry it—usually nowhere without state funding. Thus the faculty of theology was meant to train future clergy, the faculty of medicine future physicians, the faculty of law future member of the legal profession and candidates for the higher ranks of the civil service, and the faculty of philosophy future high-school teachers.

At the faculty of philosophy, a minor discipline was by definition one which did not correspond to a subject taught at high schools. How was its establishment and upkeep to be justified? By its dedication to pure research, as Mangold suggests (2004: 210–11, 292–93), and hence being splendidly superfluous for the overall task of the faculty? Such extravagance may have occurred, but not systematically. It is much more likely that minor disciplines came into being and were maintained because they could be presented and/or thought of as fulfilling auxiliary or supplementary functions within the general project of teacher training. At the levels of the faculty and of the ministry, the qualification of a candidate was in all probability evaluated within this context.

For the scholar who intended to pursue a career in a minor discipline such as Oriental studies at the university, this meant that his chances for employment also depended on taking the context at the faculty into account, when choosing research topics and methods for his publications. At the same time, the adjustments desirable for career purposes, to a faculty's requirements could not be too specific. The adoption of the external hiring strategy meant that employment opportunities depended on mobility and the suitability of the portfolio of a candidate's

publications to an as wide as possible range of different faculties of philosophy/universities. German universities were not only numerous, but they formed a system which had no real center. Though some universities were more important than others, none held a leading or hegemonic position, in the sense of being able to formulate the concepts and standards which would be adopted throughout the system. Moreover, the German university system extended beyond state borders. Until 1934, no single ministry was responsible for all universities, or even for all the major ones. Nobody was in a position actually to formulate and implement a comprehensive and unified concept. Thus success in the pursuit of a career at the university was likely to depend on a strategy of negotiating various considerations to keep the greatest possible number of employment options open.

This brief sketch points to some major aspects in an entire range of factors characterizing the work conditions of a scholar in Middle East studies pursuing a university career in the discipline of Oriental studies. Moreover, the sketch illustrates that work conditions within the university system may have repercussions for the emergence and development of the discipline and that its conception as well as that of the research traditions within it may also have resulted from considerations unrelated to the research object, the Orient. My suggestion to shift the focus of the investigation from the research tradition to the researchers aims at exploring these possibilities in greater detail in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the history of Middle East studies in the German tradition.

The assessment of the institutional context of Middle East studies has several implications for my research strategy. First of all, the evidence is likely to be only circumstantial. Since the Germany university system was not centralized, there was also no authoritative body able to make and implement any general policy. Hence there are no pertinent documents. Whatever exists in the form of written statements by the historical actors themselves presents only a very partial perspective, which needs to be read within the wider context.[19] But even these are quite rare, not least due to the fact that the information relevant for my investigation was probably considered common knowledge—the facts of life that do not need to be stated explicitly. The documentation of appointment procedures also tends to reveal hardly any information with regard to the actual considerations and intentions of the acting parties. Only in cases of severe disagreements, when the ministry was not prepared to appoint any of the scholars suggested by the faculty, an explanation (full or partial) was put in writing. But these were rare exceptions.

Therefore my study is concerned less with the "voices" than with the career patterns of scholars in Middle East studies, and its aim is not the concept, but rather the conception of the field. This would call for a prosopographic study—at least that is what I intended in the initial stages of my research. But prosopography proper turned out to be impossible, not only for the limitations already mentioned. Being basically a quantitative-statistical method, it can only be applied to a definite group—the hundred percent to which all other data is related. Scholars in Middle East studies do not constitute such a definite group. For the profiling of university careers, the definite group is usually established by limiting the investigation to incumbents to chairs, as for example all chairs within a faculty, a

university, or a major discipline such as history. In light of the shifting boundaries of the discipline of Oriental studies and the position of Middle East studies within it, the "relevant" chairs cannot be considered as a given, consistent fact.

Moreover, a study in the history of a minor discipline, which is open to the distorting influence of chance due to its small size, may benefit from broadening the base by extending its investigation to developments below the level of chairs which only mark the final stage in the process of institutional establishment. An example already mentioned is the emergence of Arabic and Islamic studies, which had not reached that final stage. In addition, it may be helpful to look also at scholars who tried to enter a career at the university, but did not make it. A group thus assembled is not suitable for a prosopographic study proper, and the methodological problem cannot be solved—at least I was not able to do so. Thus my only option is to read, in an inevitably impressionistic fashion, the scholars' biographies in the context of, and in relation to, the developments in their work conditions.

Being unsuitable for statistical evaluation does not mean that the assembly of scholars to be investigated is random. In light of their centrality for employment and promotion in the course of a career at the university, publications are chosen as the main criterion for identifying the group of scholars for my investigation, and more specifically publications on Middle East topics in German. This choice is a feasible option due to the publication of a bibliography of all German published writings on the Middle East until 1986, in which the entries are listed according to both subjects and authors (Sezgin 1990–93). In the nineteenth century, university instruction and academic writing were conducted in German, rather than in Latin which used to be the academic *lingua franca*. German publications were a prerequisite for a career at the university—with the exception of the doctoral dissertation which, in the humanities, continued to be written in Latin, until well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

The German university system is delineated by German being the language of instruction and by the relevance of publications in German for employment purposes. From the scholar's perspective, this means that he could potentially find employment throughout the system. In geographical, political terms, the delineation entails that also a university in Russia (Tartu), for example, could be part of the German system; and that even non-German speaking universities (e.g., Hungarian or Swedish) existed at its fringes. It may be worthwhile pointing out that the German scholarly network thus delineated is not necessarily congruent with the professional discourse. As the list of German reviewers of publications on Middle East topics illustrates (Sezgin 1990–93: vol. 19), the scholarly discourse could extend beyond languages borders. This may have been a particularity of scholars in the field of Oriental studies. In general, high-school education, which was the precondition for university enrollment, emphasized classical language studies, while modern European languages, especially as means of communication, were rather neglected subjects (Jäger 1987: 191–204). Thus proficiency in modern foreign languages could not be taken for granted in all academically educated circles. This may have been a practical reason for the relevancy of publications in German for career purposes, in addition to the importance allotted to it within the national project.

The vantage point: the university, as a place of work, allows for a delineation in time and place. Throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the German university system as defined above extended over a fairly stable geographical space with slightly fuzzy edges (Appendix 1). With regard to time, the issue is more complicated, since as all studies in social history also this one deals with what may be called "soft" dates. University reform began by legislation—in the form of a series of partial regulations, rather than one comprehensive law code (Jeismann 1987b). Each regulation was issued at a specific date, but implementation tended to be a much more gradual, not necessarily lineal process, often upset by such practical problems as the lack of funds at the disposal of local authorities. For an investigation of what was, rather than what ought to have been, dates of legislation can only serve as indicators for the onset of periods rather than points in time.

Furthermore, even legislation affecting university reform and developments was not adopted simultaneously in all the states over which the German university system extended. Around 1800, reform legislation began in Prussia. Afterwards it spread slowly, not always lineally to other German-speaking countries. A fairly homogeneous legal situation was achieved throughout the entire university system only by 1848. In states where legislation was relatively late, it did not necessarily mark the beginning of the reform process. Due to their persistent financial difficulties, German universities had to compete with each other for attracting (paying) students. Therefore university reform commenced in some places before these states introduced legislation corresponding to the one which had inaugurated the reform in Prussia (Turner 1987: 221–36, 244–47). Thus the timing of developmental processes has to be discerned in periods rather than dates.

This holds particularly true for the first half of the nineteenth century, the period of the emergence of the modern university and modern Oriental studies within it. With regard to the scholars working at that time, the primary ordering concept is the distinction between the generations in the discipline. The first generation can be expected to be one of "self-made" scholars, whereas training and career patterns tend to emerge from the second generation onward. By the mid-nineteenth century, a fairly homogeneous structure had been established throughout the entire university system; Oriental studies were institutionalized in the form of a chair at a considerable number of the universities and the first appointments of the second generation were made. Therefore, the date marking the beginning of the period under investigation can be seen to be either 1800 or 1850. In the latter case, developments occurring in the first half of the nineteenth century are conceived as pre-history.

For the survey of the publications which is used to delineate the German discourses on the Middle East and to identify the scholars in Middle East studies, these soft dates or periods have to be negotiated with the (fiction of) "hard" dates, to which publications explicitly adhere by the imprint of their dates. I have adopted a two-stage approach. Although I have used the publications of the first half of the nineteenth century in order for identifying the scholars in the field, my systematic chronological survey of the publications on the Middle East begins only

at mid-century, when the conditions throughout the university system reached a fairly homogeneous level.

The end of the period under investigation can be much clearer defined, since it is a function of political history. Since 1933, the social and cultural dynamics at the university which had determined the history of the field of Middle East studies were overridden by political force in its crudest sense as "*die reale Möglichkeit, im gegebenen Fall kraft eigener Entscheidung den Feind zu bestimmen und ihn zu bekämpfen*" ("unilaterally defining the enemy and being effectively able to eliminate him") (Schmitt 1932/1963: 45). For Middle East studies, this entailed in particular that a quarter of the professors in the field were excluded on the grounds of so-called race, religion and/or political convictions (Hanisch 2003: 118). Continuity beyond that date is therefore a matter for investigation. At the end of the Second World War, the NS regime came to an end, and the German university system as it had existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century underwent a major redefinition in the course of the division of Germany and of Europe. The mid-twentieth century can therefore be seen as a major turning point at which my investigation can end.

The present study attempts to investigate the history of Middle East studies within the discipline of Oriental studies as a minor discipline at faculties of philosophy within the modern German university system, since its establishment in the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century. In contrast to approaches found in the literature on the history of the field, the present study shifts the focus from the research tradition to the researchers, namely the scholars who pursued a professional career in the field at the university.

The discussion in the next chapter provides an outline of the institutional framework as background for the historical account, focusing on two aspects which are often overlooked, namely the university as a teaching institution and as a place of work. Considering the developments which shaped the university, in particular the humanities at the faculty of philosophy, as part of the history of education will allow to discern the rationale that is likely to have informed universities as well as ministries in their employment policies which determined the composition of faculties. In addition to the context of the teaching institution, the careers of scholars, including those specializing in Middle East studies, were affected by the increasingly lengthy and standardized career paths of university teachers. On the basis of existing prosopographical studies, career patterns characteristic for the humanities can be sketched to serve as frame of reference for the evaluation of the professional paths taken by scholars in Middle East studies within the minor discipline of Oriental studies.

After mapping the institutional setting, the next stage in the investigation (Chapter 3) aims at discerning the scholars who specialized in Middle East studies. In light of the fact that the field did not exist in institutional terms (chairs), an indirect approach is adopted by surveying German publications on the Middle East and their authors. The survey is not restricted to professional scholarly works alone and thus allows to locate publications in Arabic and Islamic studies within the wider German discourse(s) on the Middle East and to consider whether there are

any indications that the latter had a limiting influence on the field (e.g., the lack of interest in the modern Middle East). The survey of the authors allows identifying the most prolific writers with the help of biographical dictionaries and literature, including the professional scholars, who can be expected to have published in their field of expertise. Thus the circle of scholars in Middle East studies can be identified and also be seen in relation to other prolific writers. The latter may shed light on the question of who might have been considered an authority on the Middle East. The data gathered on the basis of the surveys are supplemented by data on other scholars in Oriental studies drawn from historiographic accounts of the field and obituaries in professional journals. The combined data serves as basis for the discussion on the history of the field and is presented in a chronological overview of university appointments (Appendix 3).

A reading of the biographies and the appointments, against the background of the training and career paths of scholars in the humanities at the time, in the context of the general developments at the faculties of philosophy, provides the starting point for the investigation proper. In the first stage of the historical account (Chapter 4), the conditions and possible reasons for the establishment of modern Oriental philology at German universities will be discussed, in particular, with regard to three aspects: the influence of the "French school" (Sacy) and its interrelations to theology and to classical philology. Sacy's work in Paris is usually identified as the beginning of the modern tradition in Middle East studies, whereas theology is seen as the framework of the pre-modern approach. By contrast, I suggest that theology also made a positive contribution to the emergence of the modern discipline. Moreover, while classical philology is often seen to have served Oriental studies as a model, the discussion here will focus on possible contributions of Oriental studies to classical philology, which will allow to discern a functional distinction between Sanskrit and Middle Eastern (and other Oriental) languages.

Afterwards the discussion moves to processes of differentiation in the newly established discipline of Oriental studies, namely the emergence of Sanskrit/Indian studies, Assyriology, and Islamic studies. The first two, not dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam, have received little attention in the literature on the history of Middle East studies. Since in disciplinary terms, Middle East studies were part of Oriental studies, developments within the latter are likely to have also affected the former. From the very beginning, Sanskrit studies (and comparative linguistics) played a special role with regard to classical philology and the rise of the study of modern European languages, in particular German, as university disciplines. Thus institutional differentiation could be expected to occur in an early stage. Apart from a few precursors, differentiation was halted due to very low student numbers (1850–70) and began systematically only in the 1870s. The discussion will consider the possible impact on the discipline, and in particular on Middle East studies (Chapter 5).

The second process to be investigated is the emergence of Assyriology as a field of specialization, which will be related to the changing concept of the museum and of classical philology, in the wake of the transition to the territorial state of the German *Reich* (Chapter 6). Not least due to severe public criticism of the

emphasis on the classics in high-school education, classical philology was transformed into the study of antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*), incorporating history and archaeology. The latter also triggered an interest in relics other than those of classical antiquity, especially in the parts of German territory that had not been under Roman rule and in the Middle East. The growing interest in archaeology was closely interrelated to the changing concept of the museum, which had not only transformed from an exclusive collection to a public display (expressing imperial grandeur), but the display became expected to show genuine historical relics rather than just their images (plaster casts). It was thus precisely in the German imperial phase that the new work opportunities in the field of Assyriology drew the attention further back into the past rather than to the present. At the same time, the concept of genuine relics entailed the need for excavations, which meant that scholars could travel to the Middle East as part of their work and thus experienced contemporary societies there.

A third development towards specialization has been widely discussed in the literature, namely the emergence of Islamic studies. The discussion here will consider the possibility that Islamic studies are actually just a heading (possibly a misnomer) under which rather different research trends can be discerned (Chapter 7). One was the study of Islam as religion (especially Nöldeke and Goldziher). Another was an attempt to use "Islam" in order to introduce the study of the modern Middle East at the university (M. Hartmann). The third (main) trend was modeled on the concept of the study of (classical) antiquity and fully compatible with the prevailing notion of territoriality, as it found, for example, expression in Becker's *Kulturgeschichte* (history and culture of the Middle East). Before these trends were able to gain institutional recognition, the development came to a practical hold in the course of the First World War. After the war, the circumstances had changed considerably, the colonies were lost, travel to the Middle East was restricted (until 1926) and economic crises strained university funds. Thus the type of Islamic studies which emerged during the Weimar Republic was not fully established.

The final stage in the historical account concerns the developments from 1933 until 1945, which were characterized by the primacy of the political factors. Since Ekkehard Ellinger and Ludmila Hanisch have provided comprehensive accounts of that period, the discussion here will focus on an evaluation of their findings, especially with regard to the possible extent of continuity and the emergence of new patterns and dynamics within the field (Chapter 8).

Before proceeding with the discussion, three general, more technical comments may be in place. First, I have chosen to use the term Middle East studies rather than Arabic and Islamic studies, because it is *not* the English equivalent to the commonly used German term and may thus serve as a constant reminder that Middle East studies were not a discipline and that we are dealing with an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm and Renger 1992). More specifically, in today's English usage, Middle East studies are a fairly well-defined field. Though the term *Middle East* as such is by no means accurate and may be contested on ideological grounds (for on overview of the debate, see Eickelman 2002: 1–5), it is generally accepted

that scholars, in particular from the humanities and social sciences, working on societies within a geographical area stretching from roughly Morocco/Mauritania to Iran/Afghanistan and from Turkey to the Sudan have common professional grounds, are specialists within a field. As the example of the Middle East Studies Association of North America shows, it is quite customary to accept a limited time frame, namely from the rise of Islam to the present (e.g., the statement of purpose on the inside cover of each issue of the *MESA Bulletin*). Middle East studies are therefore a fairly well defined academic field.

For the period under investigation, the corresponding term in German for Middle East was not *Mittlerer Osten* (the literal translation). I could hardly find any traces of the latter in the literature prior to the mid-twentieth century. For example, there is no such entry in *Der grosse Brockhaus* (1928–35). In a later edition (1952–58), the term is defined as referring to the region of Iran, India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The term *Naher Osten/Nahost* (Near East) tends to refer to the region from Egypt to Iraq, just as M.E. Yapp uses it (1996), for example. In more recent decades, the meanings of the terms have been shifting, and by the late 1980s, the region of the Middle East as defined above, that means also including North Africa, can be referred to as "*der Nahe und Mittlere Osten*" (the Near and Middle East) in German (e.g., Steinbach and Robert 1988). The term "Middle East studies" is anachronistic for the period under investigation and can thus serve as reminder that an invented tradition is investigated.

Second, I use the term "Oriental studies" when referring to the discipline, unless I can be more specific. This is not unproblematic in light of the considerable confusion in the literature. A clarification of the terminology may therefore be in place. As mentioned, Middle East studies were initially part of academic positions defined as *morgenländische/orientalische Sprachen* (Oriental languages), including two main trends, namely Semitic languages and Sanskrit/comparative linguistics. Around 1870, the formal institutional differentiation gathered pace. In its wake Indian (and Iranian) studies emerged in formal terms by the end of the century. With regard to Middle East studies, the institutional differentiation found its expression in a change of terminology: when new chairs were established, the term "Semitic," rather than "Oriental" languages, was used.

The usage was quite a loose one. For the purpose of delineating academic positions, "Semitic languages" did usually include Turkish and Persian languages. For example, Nöldeke's chair at Strassburg was the first formal one for Semitic languages. As Hanisch was able to verify on the basis of the correspondence during the negotiations preceding the appointment, the change from "Oriental" to "Semitic" was the result of Nöldeke's successful refusal to be obliged to teach Sanskrit (2003: 5–6 n.14). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the term "languages" tended to be replaced by "studies": "Semitic studies" and "Oriental studies" alongside Indian (and Iranian) studies, Assyrian studies, Egyptology *et al.* After the First World War, Islamic studies began to make their entry as an addition, in the sense that a position could be defined as Semitic and Islamic studies. In light of the anti-Semitic ideology of the NS regime since 1933, universities found it opportune to replace the term "Semitic" by "Oriental" in the names of the

institutes and of some, though not all, chairs (Hanisch 2003: 141–43), although also at that time the term "Orient" was in common as well as professional usage understood to encompass all of Asia and Africa (e.g., Deutscher Orient-Verein 1935; Schaeder 1944). During that period, a first (unsuccessful) attempt was made to bring about a shift from Semitic to Arabic studies (e.g., Fück 1944).

The term *Orientalistik* (Oriental studies) retained its double meaning also after 1945. For one, it referred to an extended version Middle East studies (as Semitic and Islamic studies), and second, it also referred to the entire field of Oriental studies. Possibly under the cover of the term's vagueness, a bargaining process gathered pace that aimed at reducing "Semitic" to "Arabic" in employment terms. Fück's account (1955) can be seen as a part of that process. He invented the tradition of Arabic studies (1944), which had to be repeated in 1955. In the latter version, he added the tradition of Islamic studies. Paret (1966, 1968) took the process one step further; he changed the order, placing Islamic studies first. "Islam" introduced a timeframe that could allow bargaining for a reduction in the language requirements. Johansen (1990) published his rendering of the history of the field since the early nineteenth century under the headline of Islamic studies, while presenting the history of Arabic and Islamic studies in his actual account.

By using the term *Vordere Orient* (Near East/Orient), Hanisch's study (2003) deviates from the pattern. In geographical terms, the *Vordere Orient* hardly differs from the region that is usually treated under the heading Arabic and Islamic studies. The substantial discrepancy lies in the time frame: while Johansen set the borderline with the rise of Islam, Hanisch's term includes also earlier periods, at least in principle (though not fully in practice). She explicitly states that her work continues Fück's account: he ended his investigation at the beginning of the twentieth century, she covers the first half of the twentieth century (2003: x). A few lines above that statement, she characterizes the academic field, not quite in agreement with Fück, as comprising Arabic, Semitic, and Islamic studies, conflating his terminology (Arabic and Islamic studies) with that available in the common usage during the period under investigation (Semitic and Islamic studies). Moreover, Hanisch's study also relates to other research areas, such as Turkish and Iranian studies (2003: 87, 91, 177, 178), without explaining the reasons for their inclusion, despite the definition given in the introduction.

Mangold employs the term *Orientalistik* (Oriental studies) without discussing the inherent terminological problem. Instead, she takes the double meaning to infer that Middle East studies are Oriental studies proper, while all other fields are peripheral to the discipline, and projects this assumed state of affairs back to the beginning of the nineteenth century by claiming that since then the three main languages of Islam: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, have constituted the core of Oriental studies (2004: 294). The inconsistencies in the terminology employed by Hanisch and Mangold may stem from the lack of recognition that the research object is merely a research tradition within a wider discipline and that the accounts by Fück, Paret, and Johansen contributed to the invention of that tradition. As has been shown, the term *Orientalistik* (Oriental studies) is also used by Ellinger

(2006), who adopts a highly idiosyncratic delineation, in order to present the Soviet Union as a core topic of Oriental studies.

Third, throughout my study, I refer to scholars in general as male, because the vast majority of them were male. One of the earliest regulations of the university reform made the admission to the entrance exam for university enrollment dependent on the prior training at a high school (*Gymnasium*), which was an institution for male pupils only (Küpper 1987). Thus women were excluded from university studies and consequently also university careers throughout the nineteenth century. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century were women admitted as students. University careers remained exceptional cases, at least until the middle of the twentieth century (Häntzschel 2001).

2 Working at the university

This study attempts to present a historical account of the development of the field of Middle East studies in the context of the history of the discipline of Oriental studies, as a minor discipline at the faculty of philosophy, by looking at scholars in the field who pursued a professional career at the university. In this chapter, the discussion turns to the university as the institutional framework in which these scholars were employed. The investigation focuses on two aspects which are often overlooked, namely the university as a teaching institution and as a place of work.

Considering the developments that shaped the university—in particular those of the humanities within the faculty of philosophy—as part of the history of education allows discerning the rationale that is likely to have informed universities as well as ministries in their employment policies that determined the composition of faculties. In addition, the careers of professional scholars were affected by standardized career paths of university teachers. Career paths characteristic for the humanities may serve as frame of reference for the evaluation of the professional paths taken by scholars specializing in Middle East studies within the minor discipline of Oriental studies.

The modern university

In the literature, two quite distinct narratives are found regarding the rise and development of modern German universities and consequently of the emergence of Oriental studies in that context. In particular among scholars who are not professional historians specializing in the history of education, the first narrative stressing the influence of ideas and concepts is more common than the second one which shifts the attention to what might be called practical considerations. The first narrative focuses on the ideas of a great man, or in a slightly more complex version, on those of a group of thinkers. According to the former,[1] the story is a simple one: The major German thinker with regard to educational reform, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), formulated the concept of the modern university, putting emphasis on education rather than professional training and linking teaching firmly to research. Being an influential figure in the entourage of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III (r. 1797–1840), Humboldt was able to

implement his ideas when the University of Berlin was established in 1810. Later on, the Berlin model was adopted for university reforms throughout the Prussian state, the other German states, and even beyond.

Steven Turner provides a brief overview of a more complex version (Turner 1987: 223–26). Accordingly, Wilhelm von Humboldt, together with Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) and Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), is seen as part of a wider intellectual movement of philosophical idealism that—to a considerable degree—followed the neo-humanist tradition established in Göttingen in the eighteenth century. At its core was the concept of *Bildung* (education/self-cultivation) seen as a process of realizing an inherent (human) potential, in contrast to the utilitarian character of *Ausbildung* (training) for specific professions, favored by Enlightenment concepts of education. *Bildung* was thought best to be achieved by studying Greek culture, the ideal and most perfect human culture. Philosophical idealism added a new element, namely the concept of science and research as the distinguishing mark of the university which should set it apart from both the (high) school and professional training institutions.

There is no doubt that what came to be known as Humboldt's concept of the university dominated the public debate on education throughout the nineteenth century (Turner 1987: 226). Doubt is voiced, however, with regard to whether that concept of the university provides any explanation for the actual institutional development. For example, Randall Collins tries to show that the concept is a function of the institutional setting rather than the other way round (Collins 1998: 618–87). Also Turner points out that the "reformed universities" were all rather conservative and traditional in institutional terms. Apart from two major innovations, they followed the eighteenth-century model of Göttingen. The first novelty was that universities were no longer restricted to a specific religious denomination. As of 1818 students could enroll regardless of their religion.[2] Most universities established two faculties of theology: one Catholic and another one Protestant. Religious affiliation, however, remained a consideration for appointments to chairs. The second innovation was increased state control (Turner 1987: 227–29). It is hard to see either of them as the implementation of Humboldt's concept of the university.

State control may even have been a major factor in the realization of an "anti-Humboldt" concept of scientific research. The group of intellectuals to whom Humboldt belonged put the emphasis on the quest for new knowledge, which they envisaged as speculative search for the great synthesis. By 1850 the quest for new knowledge had become the distinguishing mark of academic work at the universities, but it did not aim at any great synthesis. Rather, specialization in research had become the norm, in particular in history and philology (Tenorth 1987: 251–52; Turner 1987: 238–39). One of the contributing factors may have been state control over appointments. As a result of state funding, it was formally the state that made appointments to chairs, a prerogative that from the university's point of view was seen as an infringement on academic freedom. The ensuing controversy between the university and the state focused on the questions whether the university was *de jure* entitled to suggest candidates, and whether the state was *de facto* bound by these suggestions.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, and at times even in its second half, the ministries of education often acted upon their own discretion, partly in order to ensure ideological conformity, but frequently in order to introduce new academic disciplines against the will of conservative faculties (Turner 1987: 237–38). The relocation of the decision over appointments to chairs from the individual university to the ministry led to a standardization of the criteria of qualification and thus contributed to the process of professionalization. In this context, the trend towards specialization in research can be seen as part of a strategy countering state control. If the main task of academic work at the university consisted in highly specialized research rather than any great synthesis, it could be argued that such work can only be evaluated by other specialists in the same field (Turner 1987: 239; Stichweh 1994).

Shifting the focus from the institutional level to that of the disciplines may cast further doubt on the supposed implementation of Humboldt's concepts at the University of Berlin and beyond. Humboldt formulated a philosophy of language, according to which language is not just a tool but a substantive expression of those who use it, and the study of another language aims at an encounter with the mind (*Geist*) of the other nation/people (Fück 1955; 146; Hanisch 2003: 23). On that basis, the circle around Wolf, Humboldt, and Schleiermacher called for the establishment of *Altertumswissenschaften* (studies of antiquity) combining language, literature, history, art, and archaeology. Their suggestion was not accepted. Instead, an "anti-Berlin" conception, putting emphasis on philology as text criticism and as language studies, won the day and became the norm first at Bonn, by 1830 at other German universities and then also at Berlin (Herzog 1983: 282–84).

Thus there seems to be little evidence to support the assumption that Humboldt shaped the German university system in any immediate way. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that his concept of education (*Bildung*) became the essence of what was conceived as German high-school education. Since high schools were rather numerous and nobody has yet argued that any high school in Berlin was the model for all other high schools, the institutionalization of Humboldt's concept at high schools requires an explanation. Moreover, given that in the literature (and in the public debate) the university can be thought to be a product of Humboldt's concepts, the interrelation between high schools and universities needs to be determined. The answers to these questions may be found in the second narrative on the history of universities (and education) which started out as criticism of the first one (McClelland 1980). A major synthesis was published in the *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* (Jeisman and Lundgreen 1987; Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989a; Berg 1991). In the following, I shall provide a brief outline of the general developments in order to provide the framework for the investigation of the development of Middle East studies.

Around 1800 German universities were in a rather bad shape (Turner 1987: 221–22). Middle East scholars may recall the description of al-Azhar at the time. The state of affairs at German universities was similar. The numbers of students were generally very low: only four universities, Halle, Göttingen, Jena, and Leipzig had more than 500 students; other universities had on average 150

students (Turner 1987: 221). For example, Königsberg had only 47 students in 1791, at the height of Kant's fame (Collins 1998: 642). In addition, funds were dwindling on account of economic, political and social changes; students were feared for their offensive social conduct; teachers were said to be less than qualified; and buildings were crumbling. Between 1792 and 1818, almost two dozen out of 42 German universities actually closed down.[3] Widespread demands were voiced to abolish the university altogether and to replace it by professional training institutions on the one hand and research academies on the other. This was the model that was adopted in France after the Revolution (Lundgreen 1987: 294–95). The debate was overrun by events.

Prussia suffered a sweeping military defeat in the battle at Jena and Auerstedt (1806) against the coalition led by the French revolutionary army. Though Prussia was saved from total dismemberment due to Russian backing, the treaty of Tilsit (1807) following the defeat entailed major territorial losses. As a result, Prussia lost the university at Halle, the only major university within its territory. Already since the eighteenth century, Prussia had been undergoing what in Middle East societies has been called a centralization process, in the course of which the state reorganized and stratified the army (Stübig 1987: 362–63) and the bureaucracy. Since 1770 candidates who were not members of the nobility had to pass an examination in order to enter the civil service. Examination did not mean equal opportunity for all candidates. Preferential treatment was given to those who held a university degree in law. In 1804 a new regulation was issued making three years of legal studies at a (Prussian) university the precondition for employment in any higher office (Collins 1998: 642). Therefore the Prussian state faced an urgent problem after the defeat: no university, no degrees, and thus no new civil servants, especially for the higher ranks. To solve the problem, the University of Berlin was established in 1810. It is likely that this was not a matter of choice. Deciding against the university would have meant to adopt the "French" model, i.e., *the* enemy's. Moreover, it would have been rather difficult to conceive and establish an institutional framework replacing the university, considering that Prussia had until then gathered only very limited experience with special technical training institutions for military personnel and civil servants (Lundgreen 1987: 294). Once the decision was taken, however, the debate was settled: the abolition of the university was no longer on the agenda.

In 1815, Prussia had five universities (Berlin, Breslau, Königsberg, Halle, and Greifswald) and established another one at Bonn in 1818. Though law graduates were in demand, this is only part of the story. In the 1770s, the prospects of government employment had given rise to a growing number of students and, subsequently, graduates. Students, being paying customers, could not be too numerous. But graduates too numerous to be absorbed into the state apparatus could cause problems. Already in 1788 the government saw the need to reduce the number of graduates by reducing the number of students. Therefore an exam for admission to the university (*Abitur*) became obligatory. The exam was based on the syllabus of the *Gymnasium* (high school) which focused on classical studies. Since student numbers dropped faster than expected, the regulation was not fully implemented.

In 1810, when student numbers rose again, the regulation was put back in place. This time it was part of a much wider project in the centralization process. The aim was to bring education, especially higher education, under state control (Jeismann 1987a: 4–5), and thus removing it from the domain of the church.[4] Contrary to Humboldt's concept of a graduated, but unified school system (Jeismann 1987a: 18), the modern school system as it evolved since the beginning of the nineteenth century was characterized by a basic division: elementary schools on the one side, and secondary and high schools on the other (Jeismann 1974). At that time schooling became obligatory, on paper at least. Implementation was another, much slower matter. Only towards the end of the nineteenth century, general literacy was achieved (Ungern-Sternberg 1987: 386–87). It was the educational achievement of the century (Kuhlemann 1991: 179, 193). But the realization took almost a century. Elementary school was obligatory for all those pupils who did not attend any other school. The latter comprised three basic kinds of schools, each with its own distinct syllabus: the *Gymnasium*; the *Realschule* (secondary school); and the girls' school.

The *Realschule* was established especially for sons of bourgeois families who did not intend to pursue a profession that required university training, and who were supposed to get a useful school education, namely modern languages and sciences rather than classical studies. In 1832, the Prussian ministry of education issued the first regulation recognizing graduation at these schools as qualification for various positions of employment in the civil service and in professions requiring a state permission (Jeismann 1987a: 11; Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 242–44; Jarausch 1991: 332; Lundgreen 1991: 310–12). Since then, these schools aimed at broadening the range of possible employment qualifications for their pupils. In that pursuit, some secondary schools moved closer to the concept of the *Gymnasium* by establishing a course of nine years, the syllabus of which included Latin (in addition to English and French). By 1859, these *Realschulen 1. Ordnung* (since 1882: *Realgymnasien*) were fully developed and they had managed to secure for their pupils all professional qualifications that were open to pupils at the *Gymnasium*—apart from studying at the university (Jeismann 1987a: 11; Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 240–41).

The girls' school was the equivalent institution for the daughters of such families, in their case the concept of usefulness did not include the sciences, nor was graduation from such a school considered a qualification for any profession, apart from the option of entering a teacher training program. That option existed less by intention than by necessity, in light of the shortage of teachers (Jeismann 1987a: 19). In practice, the division was not as neat, mostly due to budgetary considerations. Especially small towns could often not afford to establish and run three high/secondary schools in addition to the elementary schools. State control was supposed to extend to all school types, but in the first instance the efforts were geared towards the secondary and high schools, and within that group again towards the high schools. A series of regulations were put in place. In order to be admitted to university one needed the *Abitur* (admission exam), this time not only modeled on the syllabus of the *Gymnasium*, but actually requiring attendance.

Issued in 1812, the regulation was fully implemented by 1840 (Turner 1987: 241). Since the *Gymnasium* was for male pupils only, the regulation also meant that women were excluded from university studies. Few as they were in previous periods, women vanished altogether from the universities after 1825 to reappear only in the beginning of the twentieth century (Küpper 1987: 185).

University studies and a state exam became precondition for employment as teacher at a high/secondary school.[5] The regulation which made the exam *pro facultate docendi* obligatory for Prussian high school teachers, was issued in 1810, but as in all such cases implementation was a rather lengthy process that lasted well into the 1830s and 1840s (Tenorth 1987: 252). Other German states adopted similar regulations by the mid-century (Tenorth 1987: 255–56). The requirement of the state exam at the end of the university studies enabled the state actually to determine what students should or would study. Since the first aim was to recruit teachers for the *Gymnasium*, the state exam was geared towards its syllabus with the heavy emphasis on classical studies. The centrality of the state exam is clearly illustrated by the fact that basically all universities degrees fell into disuse by 1870, apart from the doctorate that survived for three purposes only: decoration, physicians and academic careers (Turner 1987: 241). The introduction of the state exam caused a major reorganization of the university.

Until then universities used to have three major faculties: law, medicine, and theology.[6] The tuition fees for medicine were very high; the fees for law were much lower (in the 1830s, less than a quarter of those for medicine). However, law graduates who were seeking employment in the civil service and/or the court system had to be able to work without pay for three to ten years before they would receive their first salary (Turner 1987: 240–41). Theology was the poor student's option: lower tuition fees than for law, sometimes scholarships, even inexpensive accommodation, and often a free lunch (Turner 1987: 240). In addition to these three major faculties, there existed the faculty of philosophy, the function of which differed depending on whether it was at a northern (Protestant) or southern (Catholic) university. At the former, the faculty of philosophy mostly served auxiliary functions with regard to the three major faculties and had hardly any students of its own. At southern universities, the faculty of philosophy had a preparatory function: students had to study general classes for one or two years before they were allowed to enroll at one of the major faculties. By the late 1840s the entire system had adopted the northern (Protestant) model.[7] All students could enroll directly at the faculty of their choice. The exception was Bavaria, where until 1913 students of other faculties were obliged to take also eight classes at the faculty of philosophy (Turner 1987: 230–31).

Future secondary/high-school teachers usually studied theology. After graduation, they found employment in/through the church which had the schools under its supervision, if it did not actually run them. The introduction of state exams for teachers changed the entire pattern. The state exam demanded knowledge in specific fields and also defined possible combinations. For example, the Prussian regulations of 1810 offered the choice of philology, history or mathematics. In 1831, these three alternatives were redefined: classical languages and German; mathematics and sciences; or history and geography. In 1866, a fourth category was added: religion and Hebrew. After 1848 the Austrian regulations followed the Prussian model, whereas in Bavaria the choice remained limited to classical philology until 1873 (Tenorth 1987: 256).

The subjects required for the state exam were traditionally taught at the faculty of philosophy or became established there, because they did not belong to theology, law or medicine. Consequently, there was no longer any need to study theology in order to become a high- and/or secondary-school teacher. The result was that the number of students at the faculty of theology sank, while the number of students at the faculty of philosophy rose drastically (Turner 1987: 231), turning it into a proper faculty, on equal footing with the three others (Turner 1987: 230), although philology remained with regard to social status well below that of law and medicine (Tenorth 1987: 259–60).

The considerable number of students enrolling at the faculty of philosophy meant that the university had to offer suitable lectures held by qualified professors. Though the number of students in theology fell and thus may have made some of the theology professors superfluous in terms of teaching requirements, the problem could not be solved by reassigning them to teach Greek philology, for example. Instead, new specialists had to be hired. Thus employment opportunities for such university careers opened in a manner truly unprecedented by the standards of the time. On average, the number of chairs per university rose from 26 in 1791 to 34 in 1840. Many of the new chairs were established within the faculty of philosophy. The number of assistant professors (*extraordinarii*) and lecturers (*Privatdozenten*) increased even more: from nine on average per university in 1796 to 29 in 1835. For the faculties of philosophy and medicine this increase was still greater, since the number of such positions declined at the faculties of theology and law during that period (Turner 1987: 232). For prospective university teachers this was good news, for most universities cause for quite a headache. Their financial situations had already been very strained, when the adjustment of the faculty of philosophy to the new conditions required additional funds. For lack of alternatives, there were only two strategies available for dealing with the problem, which had to be pursued in conjunction with each other. One was to trade autonomy for state funding (Turner 1987: 228–29), and the other to attract as many students as possible, in order to make the new faculty viable.

The latter led to the fierce competition among German universities which already Joseph Ben-David and Awraham Zloczower (1962) identified as the main factor accounting for the developments in the nineteenth century. The reforms had started in Prussia. The attraction of increased state control was surely not lost on the rulers of the other states.[8] But the reforms of the education system along similar lines to those adopted in Prussia were achieved only by the mid-nineteenth century. The restructuring of the faculties of philosophy occurred earlier due to the fact that students were not only paying customers, but also mobile ones. It was considered part of academic freedom that students were free to choose what and where they studied. Already since the eighteenth century that freedom had been limited as part of a state policy characterized as "academic mercantilism"

(Turner 1987: 236). For example, studying for a couple of semesters at a Prussian university became precondition for admission to the state exam in Prussia. This was clearly a measure to secure at least part of the tuition fees for Prussian universities. Their funding was ultimately the responsibility of the state treasury. But even Prussia could not go any further.

Students remained fairly free to move from one university to another. This gave non-Prussian universities, in search for additional students, the incentive to remodel their faculties of philosophy (usually with state funding) to comprise an attractive assembly of scholars. The focus of expansion was on the requirements for high school teachers, i.e., classical languages and related subjects. At the beginning, the definition was rather narrow as is illustrated by the fact that, in terms of the teacher exam as well as the organization of instruction at high schools, German was considered an addition to the classical languages (Tenorth 1987: 256). At universities, the establishment of chairs in German language and literature began at about 1850 but gathered pace only in the 1870s, and then academic interest was geared towards medieval German texts rather than modern ones (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 257–58).

From other modern European languages only French was regularly taught at high schools since 1837. When it was introduced to the syllabus, the ministry found it necessary to explain that French did not belong to the basics of higher education and that its inclusion was only due to its practical usefulness for professional life. Contrary to Latin and Greek, the ministry did not ascribe to French any inherent value nor any educational value of its structure (*nicht wegen "ihrer innern Vortrefflichkeit und der bildenden Kraft ihres Baues*").[9] Teachers of French at high schools as those of other modern foreign languages at secondary schools had to pass the teacher exam in classical philology, in order to be properly qualified. It was only since 1865 that candidates could specialize in modern foreign languages in the teacher exam, which, however, would qualify them merely to become teachers at secondary schools and at the lower grades of high schools. Proper chairs for French as well as English language and literature were established at the universities only in the course of the 1870s, and the work done there tended to follow very closely the critical-historical approach of classical philology. In 1887, a teacher exam was introduced for modern European foreign languages, providing unrestricted qualification under the condition that the candidate took also the exam in Latin. Modern foreign languages became a fully independent field of specialization for the teacher exam only in 1898 (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 256; Titze 1991: 346–47).

Modern European languages as school subjects owed much of their origin actually to girls' schools which were set up for girls from the more affluent strata of society, who did not want their daughters to attend the elementary schools. Since girls were thought to be intellectually inferior to boys, the intricacies of grammar were seen to be beyond their comprehension. Consequently Latin and Greek were not taught at girls' schools. By default, they were the first ones to benefit from a non-grammar centered approach to languages and to learn a foreign language for the purpose of communication: stressing proficiency in conversation and letter writing alongside

reading belles-lettres. It was also at the girls' schools that, for the first time, a proper study program for German language and literature was developed (Küpper 1987: 187–88; Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 257; Kraul 1991: 291).

In addition to the shift from enrollment at the faculty of theology to that of philosophy, some general trends may be of interest (Titze 1983; Jarausch 1991). After 1815, student numbers at universities had risen, partly due to soldiers returning to civilian life, and to the economic crisis after the war, which made low paid, but secure church and state employment attractive (Turner 1987: 229). In 1830, a point of crisis was reached: law and theology graduates faced unemployment. In public announcements these disciplines were declared overcrowded. Law students tended to shift to medicine, instead, or seek a profession that did not require university training. The former may be attributed to the fact that these students usually came from families of a similar high social status and could afford the equally high expenses incurred during university training and until the first paid employment (Turner 1987: 240–41). The latter had become a feasible option especially after 1850 when the general economic situation had improved due to a rapid growth period which lasted until the great bank and business crash in 1873 (Berg and Herrmann 1991: 2). Theology students worried about possible unemployment would move to the faculty of philosophy in order to study philology with the aim to become high-school teachers. So while in general student numbers were declining, the faculty of philosophy experienced another increase. The growing number of students and hence graduates brought the profession of high-school teacher close to a point where it had to be declared overcrowded as well. This situation led to a decline in student numbers by the late 1840s.

Until the late 1860s enrollment remained at a low level, basically the same one it had been in 1750. A slow increase became visible in the second half of the 1860s, but was halted by the Franco-Prussian war (1870–71). In 1871, only three universities in the territory of the German Reich had more than 1,000 students, namely Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich; eight others had between 500 and 1,000 students; the rest had less than 500. By 1914, Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich had more than 5,000 students each; eleven universities had between 2,000 and 5,000 students; and the others, apart from the university in Frankfurt, had more than 1,000 students (Jarausch 1991: 320). Thus German universities underwent a major expansion, which occurred in stages. After the Franco-Prussian war, student numbers began to rise considerably, surpassing by far the figures of the boom period of the first half of the nineteenth century (Turner 1987: 229). One of the contributing factors was probably the economic situation during the "great depression" of 1874–95, which made low-paid state employment attractive (Berg and Herrmann 1991: 2). Another one was that the monopoly of the *Gymnasium* for university enrollment was partly lifted in Prussia.

Especially during the period of low student numbers, *Realschulen* (secondary schools) were in high demand for pupils who did not intend to study at the university. As their name indicated, the syllabus of these schools characteristically emphasized mathematics, sciences, and modern languages. The teachers at these schools had to undergo university training and pass the state exam. That means that

prospective teachers had to attend a *Gymnasium* in order to be able to be admitted to university. Given the heavy emphasis on classical studies in the syllabus of the *Gymnasium*, very few of these high-school graduates chose to study mathematics, sciences or modern foreign languages. This caused a severe shortage of teachers in these subjects. As remedy, the Prussian ministry of education permitted graduates of the *Realschule I. Ordnung*, i.e., a secondary school with a course of nine years that included Latin, to study at the university in order to become teachers of mathematics, the sciences, English, and French. Until 1887, their employment remained restricted to secondary schools (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 229–30, 244). By 1879, half of the students at the faculty of philosophy (i.e., 15 percent of all university students) in Prussia had such limited university access (Turner 1987: 241).

The rapid increase in students led again to overcrowding, the timing of which differed from faculty to faculty throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Thus students with unlimited access could seek remedy in changing faculties. The movement usually went from law to medicine or vice versa; and from philosophy to (Protestant) theology or vice versa. Catholic theology remained a bit outside the pattern, since a career in the field required an additional commitment: celibacy. While work prospects for teachers were rather good throughout the 1870s and the early 1880s, the situation had changed by the mid 1880s and did not improve until the end of the 1890s. For (Protestant) theology, employment prospects were very good until the end of the 1880s. Afterwards, also graduates of theology were threatened by the prospects of unemployment, but not as much as teachers were during the 1890s (Jarausch 1991: 319; Titze 1983: 63–65).

The worsening employment prospects for teachers since the mid-1880s and the limited alternatives for students with restricted university access contributed to a heated public debate which called the monopoly of the *Gymnasium* into question. The main institutional rival of the Gymnasium was the secondary school, which offered a full-length study course of nine years (from the fifth to the thirteenth grade). As mentioned, their syllabus included Latin (*Realgymnasium*). In the 1870s and in particular in the 1880s, an additional type of secondary schools was established, namely the *Oberrealschulen*, which offered a course of nine years without Latin (Albisetti/Lundgreen 1991: 242). Already in 1876, teachers at secondary schools which offered a study course of nine years founded a professional organization (*Realschulmännerverein*) in order to demand the recognition of these secondary schools as equivalent to the classical high school (*Gymnasium*) with regard to qualifications, including university admission. In 1888 a public petition was organized demanding a comprehensive reform of the high and secondary school system. It was able to rally some 20,000 signatures—a totally unprecedented number in German politics (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 233–35).

In 1890, the teachers at high schools established their own professional organization (*Gymnasialverein*) in order to defend their monopoly, for which they also rallied the support of members of the clergy, judges, civil servants, and lawyers. They saw their most dangerous rival in the *Realgymnasium* (secondary school with Latin) and therefore chose to support the *Oberrealschule* (secondary school without Latin) in its demand for the admission of its graduates to studies at the university

in order to become teachers of mathematics and sciences (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 244–45). At that time, however, severe overcrowding at the universities and on the job market for university graduates prevented any major changes (Jarausch 1991: 317–19). The ministry feared that granting graduates of secondary schools unrestricted access to university studies would increase the student numbers even further (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 233–35).

Though employment concerns were of central importance in the public debate, also other considerations were involved. Since the establishment of the unified German state (*Reich*/empire), demands for an educational reform were voiced with growing intensity (Paulsen 1885/1897). Especially the national project was thought to call for a new high-school syllabus in order to allow for a greater emphasis on German literature and history. According to the Prussian regulations from 1816, which were not properly implemented, a pupil would study 126 (76 and 50) hours per week Latin and Greek during nine years of high-school education (that means: every year on average 14 hours per week), but German language and literature only for 44 hours, and 20 hours history and geography. Mathematics and sciences were supposed to be taught for 80 hours (Jeismann 1987c: 172, Table 1). That imbalance even increased in the revised syllabus from 1837, which was much more widely implemented (172, Table 2). Latin increased its share to 86 hours, and Greek was taught for 42 hours. German lessons were considerably reduced to 22 hours and, at least in the lower grades, usually taught by the Latin teacher, probably due to the fact that classical languages and German were considered part of the same field of specialization for the teacher exam (Tenorth 1987: 256). History and geography received a slight increase to 24 hours. In addition, a third foreign language, namely French, was introduced with 12 hours. Mathematics and the sciences were reduced to some 50 hours.[10]

The revised syllabus from 1856 reduced the overall number of hours, in response to a persistent parents' complaint regarding the overburdening of pupils (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 231–32), but left those allotted to Latin and Greek as well as mathematics and the sciences unchanged. Minor additions were given to French (from 12 to 17 hours), which became the second foreign language (before Greek), and to German (from 22 to 24), while history and geography lost an hour (from 26 to 25) (Jeismann 1987c: 173, Table 4). During the *Reich*, the syllabi for schools in Prussia were revised three times, in 1882, 1892, and 1901, against the background of the intense public debate on educational reform (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 234, 276–78). For high schools, the hours allotted to mathematics and the sciences remained unchanged at some 50 hours. The hours for French were increased a bit in 1882 and then remained stable at about 20 hours. In 1882, history and geography were able to increase their hours from 25 to 28, apparently at the expense of German, which went down from 24 to 21. Since 1892, German and history/geography were on equal footing at 26 hours each. There was one major change, however. The lessons in German were supposed to be dealing also with German history, since "national education" at all secondary and high schools was meant to be provided in the lessons on religion, German, history, and geography. Thus German national history, as opposed to the history of antiquity, could increase its

share; and the German lessons were moved from the orbit of the Latin teacher to that of the history teacher (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 254–59).

This coincided with major losses in classical studies. In 1892, the emphasis for the history lessons changed for the three last years of high school: history of antiquity was reduced to one year, whereas two years were dedicated to German history (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 260–61). In 1882, the hours for Latin were reduced from 86 to 77, and in 1892, to an all time low of 62 hours. Moreover, the essay in Latin which had been part of the final high-school exam as well as the answers in Latin to questions in the oral exam were abolished in 1892 (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 254–56). With regard to Greek, the third foreign language, the cuts were less dramatic, but still considerable: from 42 to 40 in 1882, and then to 36 hours in 1892.[11] These figures indicate that public pressure and the *Kaiser*'s (emperor's) personal intervention in 1889 were leading towards a reform of the concept of higher school education (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 236).

Major change occurred only at the turn of the century. By that time, student numbers had declined and thus overcrowding was no longer a problem. Moreover, the general economic situation improved, entering a growth period in 1896 which lasted until 1913 (Berg and Herrmann 1991: 2). Under the circumstances, the high-school teachers (and their supporters) agreed to give up the *Gymnasium*'s monopoly over unrestricted university access, in order to preserve the concept of classical studies as core of the education at the *Gymnasium*.[12] In the wake of the school conference of 1900, access to the university was fully opened to graduates of the *Realgymnasium* (secondary schools offering a course of nine years including Latin) and the *Oberrealschule* (a similar institution without Latin); the latter were given the opportunity to take Latin classes at the university, in case they needed Latin for their main subject, e.g., medicine or law (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 237).

Acceptance of the decisions from the school conference was speedy at Prussian universities. By 1907 all faculties were open to graduates of these secondary schools, apart from the faculties of theology where education at a *Gymnasium* remained compulsory. The universities of most other German states followed soon the Prussian example, apart from Württemberg and Bavaria. There, similar reforms were introduced in 1912/1914 (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 251–53). For the secondary and high schools, revised syllabi were issued in 1901, which again emphasized the distinct characteristics of each school type and increased the hours allotted to Latin both at the *Gymnasium* (from 62 to 68 hours) and at the *Realgymnasium* (from 43 to 49 hours). In addition, the decline of Greek at the *Gymnasium* was halted; the subject remained at 36 hours (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 237–38, 277–78). Thus the concept of the classical high school was preserved as well as the employment opportunities of teachers in these subjects; with regard to Latin, they even increased.[13] The opening of the universities led to an unprecedented rise in the number of students which again resulted in overcrowding simultaneously at all faculties in the early 1910s just on the eve of the First World War (Titze 1983: 78–79).

It may be worthwhile noting that an additional opening of the universities, namely the admission of women did not have any major impact on the rising

student numbers. Women's demands for university admission had been stalled on grounds of overcrowding during the 1880s and 1890s. Since 1900, when student numbers had declined, women were gradually admitted to universities, first in the smaller German states (Baden 1900, Bavaria 1903, Württemberg 1904, Saxony 1906) and in Prussia in 1908 (Kraul 1991: 289). However, a suitable network of schools providing courses for university qualification (*Abitur*) took much longer to be established due to the costs involved. Financial considerations caused smaller German states such as Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, and Bremen to permit girls to attend boys' high schools. Not ready to follow these examples, Prussia allowed girls' school to establish suitable courses in 1908 (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 238–39). By 1914, women accounted for 6.73 percent of all university students (Jarausch 1991: 315, 325),—even less than the share of foreign students which lay at about 8.3 percent (Jarausch 1991: 313–14).

The expansion of the universities due to rising student numbers entailed also a process of heightened differentiation of disciplines and subdisciplines, especially in the faculties of medicine and philosophy (Jarausch 1991: 322; Lundgreen 1983; Ben-David and Zloczower 1962; Eulner 1970; Pfetsch and Zloczower 1973: 105–28). Contrary to the developments in the first half of the nineteenth century, the establishment of a new discipline would not necessarily begin with a chair, but quite frequently with the appointment of a lecturer and/or *extraordinarius*. For example, the number of chairs at the university of Berlin rose from 55 in 1870 to 126 in 1910; the number of teaching positions below the rank of *ordinarius* increased much more, namely from 112 to 368. At the faculties of medicine and philosophy, the majority of teaching positions became to be held by lecturers (Jarausch 1991: 322). A similar trend can be discerned for all universities in the German *Reich*. Between 1886/87 and 1911/12, the number of *ordinarii* increased from 1,015 to 1,297; that of honorary professors from 50 to 135, of *extraordinarii* from 459 to 791, and of lecturers from 571 to 1,225. Between 1870 and 1913, the number of students per *ordinarius* increased from 16.8 to 42.3, whereas their number per lecturer increased only from 8.9 to 16.1 (Jarausch 1991: 329).

The altered employment strategy of the universities may well have been a function of the phenomenon of overcrowding. As in previous times, the growing number of students, who were paying customers, was not a problem as such. Rising student numbers meant that universities expanded and thus provided the basis for differentiation within various disciplines. Growing specialization had an impact on the format of teaching. Whereas the (big) lecture dealing with general themes, used to be the dominant form, a trend towards smaller units (exercises and seminars) addressing more specific topics can be observed during the period of rapid expansion and differentiation. For example, at the University of Berlin the ratio was 6.1 lectures to one exercise in 1870; by 1909/10 it had sunk to 2.9. By 1914, lectures accounted only for about half of the courses offered at the faculty of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg (Jarausch 1991: 330–31).

Thus rising student numbers and the smaller format of teaching units required a considerable increase in the teaching staff, which meant employment opportunities for scholars pursuing an academic career. The greatest increase was on the

lowest level, that of the lecturer, who would not get a salary, but was paid according to the number of students he actually taught. Though the average number of students per lecturer almost doubled between 1870 and 1913, the income derived from teaching remained insufficient. The fact that there were nonetheless scholars who volunteered may have been due to the problematic side of overcrowding, namely unemployment. It is also conceivable that the threat of unemployment allowed universities to opt for introducing a new field of specialization by appointing a lecturer or *extraordinarius* rather than by establishing a chair. Thus young scholars got an opportunity to embark on an academic career, at the same time the options for promotion declined. Since the number of lecturers and *extraordinarii* rose faster than the number of chairs, an ever growing number of scholars had no realistic chance to became *ordinarii*, and thus actually lost the incentive for enduring the hardships of employment in the lower ranks. Contrary to the situation in the sciences and medicine, the problem in the humanities was not even alleviated by additional work opportunities at the university. Though a comparatively great number of institutes, which were another indicator for disciplinary differentiation, were established in the humanities, their budgets did usually not include salaries of academic personnel (Jarausch 1991: 322–23).

These findings suggest a situation of frustrated expectations rather similar to the one which Pierre Bourdieu (1984) investigated in his *Homo academicus*. As in the case of French universities in the 1960s, the historical actors did apparently not identify the systemic problem of the employment policy leading to "dead-end" careers, but focused their criticism on a more obvious deficiency, which was the discrimination against scholars with specific political and/or ideological convictions in the German university system at the time. Democrats and (political) Catholics had very slim chances obtaining an appointment as *ordinarius*, and socialists were totally excluded (Jarausch 1991: 330). The effects of the crisis were to a certain degree deflected with the outbreak of the First World War: since 1915 70–80 percent of all students were permanently absent due to active military service (Titze 1989: 209). Major political currents discriminated against during the *Reich* became the coalition of Weimar that was first formed in 1917 in a bid to end the war (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989b: 10). During the first years of the republic, some of the scholars who were thought to have previously been discriminated against were promoted (Titze 1989: 216–17)—a measure that was criticized in academic circles as political appointments without foundation on merit (e.g., Kahle 1998: 93–94).

Despite these corrective measures, however, the basic structural problem does not seem to have changed after the First World War. In 1925, 4,862 teachers were employed at universities in the Weimar Republic, only 39 percent of whom were *ordinarii*. The problem was particularly severe at the faculty of medicine: 445 *ordinarii* among 1,534 teachers, but not much better at the faculty of philosophy, in the humanities: 532 *ordinarii* were among 1,335 teachers, and in mathematics and the sciences: 420 *ordinarii* among 1,066 teachers (Titze 1989: 216–17). Moreover, the institutionalization of disciplinary differentiation tended to begin in positions of the lower ranks rather than on the level of chairs also after the First

World War. For example, the faculty of philosophy at the University of Berlin included 35 chairs and 55 disciplines in 1892. By 1910 the number of disciplines had risen to 64 and by 1930 to 91; whereas the number of chairs rose slower, to 53 in 1930, which meant that the ratio increased from 1.57 disciplines per chair to 1.72 (Jarausch 1991: 322). Relying on underpaid scholars, disciplinary differentiation seems to have been introduced in a fashion that was hardly sustainable in the long run.[14]

The problematic of these processes was further aggravated by rather rapidly changing conditions in the wider context of the universities. After the end of the war, the number of students rose considerably due to students who had interrupted their studies or postponed them because of their military service. Student numbers began to return to normal in 1923, in the midst of the severe political and economic crises (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989b: 6–7), and continued to decline until 1925. In the second half of the 1920s, three factors contributed to an unprecedented rise in student numbers. The children born during the years with high birth rates from the beginning of the century reached the age of university education (Zymek 1989: 176–77). In addition, the muted school reform from 1920 had not led to a unified school system, but merely made the first four years of elementary school education for all pupils obligatory and improved the terms of employment for teachers at these schools (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989b: 13–14). The latter attracted growing interest in the profession, which was soon overcrowded. To remedy the problem, training colleges for elementary school teachers were reorganized as *deutsche Oberschulen*. Their graduates were qualified to work as teachers at elementary schools and to study at a university. Bad employment prospects for teachers thus contributed to rising student enrollment (Titze 1989: 209; Zymek 1989: 165, 171). The third factor was the growing number of women students. In 1920, only 10 percent of all girls' schools offered courses for university qualifications. Their number increased in the 1920s. By 1930, 60 percent of all girls' schools offered such courses. In 1931, girls accounted for 20 percent of all pupils taking the *Abitur* (high-school exam) in Germany; in Prussia their share was 25 percent, and in major cities like Hamburg and Bremen, it reached even 40 percent (Zymek 1989: 172). Women accounted for almost 20 percent of all students in the early 1930s (Titze 1989: 211). These three factors together contributed to a totally unprecedented rise in student numbers. In the summer of 1931 some 138,000 students were enrolled, about double the number of students enrolled in 1910 (Titze 1989: 209–10).

Whereas the student boom at the beginning of the century coincided with a period of economic growth, the much more spectacular student boom of the second half of the 1920s occurred in a more difficult economic situation, troubled especially by a continuous problem of unemployment since 1923, which turned catastrophic in the wake of the New York stock-exchange crash of 1929 and Great Depression that followed it (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989b: 5–7). In academic terms, both with regard to education and employment, conditions changed in very short intervals and under difficult circumstances. The expansion period after the war lasted for four years only, during which funds were limited and it was obvious

that student numbers were inflated by the "war students." During the next three years of declining student enrollment, universities were likely to put the establishment of any new positions on hold. In order to counter the effects of the inflation of 1923, for example, the Prussian ministry of education ordered cutbacks in positions throughout the entire educational sector (Müller-Rolli 1989: 246–47). The increase in enrollment since 1926 was truly remarkable, but it took only four years until the effects of the Great Depression set in. That was a very short time for establishing new positions, before universities, like other institutions, had to cut their expenses drastically, which of course included the budgets for salaries. Under such circumstances planning and in particular career planning was more often than not doomed to failure.

The education boom was overwhelmed by the prospects of unemployment, which were further heightened by the emergency regulations issued under Heinrich Brüning's minority government (July 1930 to June 1932), which decreed salary cuts, increase of work hours and cutbacks in positions in the public sector, and the law of May 30, 1931, which made it possible to dismiss married women from tenured positions in the civil service (Müller-Rolli 1989: 247–48). In the literature, the situation has been characterized as a "crisis of orientation" which is thought to have arisen due to the huge discrepancy between formal qualifications (the actual term used in the debate is *Berechtigungen*, i.e., entitlements) and their actual value (or rather lack thereof) in terms of employment (Jeismann 1987a: 16–17; Titze 1989: 222; Zymek 1989: 186–87).

Frustrated expectations and the lack of hope in light of general unemployment certainly contributed to the rising attraction of National Socialist ideology. The NSDAP emerged as the party that received the most votes from the general elections in July 1932. Already in 1931, the National Socialist student organization could command 51 percent of the student support at 28 German universities and polytechnics (Titze 1989: 216). After January 1933, students (and lecturers) took the most active part in the process of Nazification at the universities, as for example, on midnight of the May 10, 1933, when books were burnt in public spectacles at all German universities, apart from those in Württemberg (Titze 1989: 225). These organized "spontaneous" grass-root actions died down after the "Röhm-Putsch" (June 30, 1934), in the wake of which the power of the SA was neutralized, including that of the NS student organization (Titze 1989: 230).

Among the first legislative actions of the National Socialist government was the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (law for the restoration of the professional civil service) issued on April 7, 1933. On that basis, civil servants were dismissed for what was conceived as objectionable political/ideological convictions and/or activities as well as for being Jewish. At the universities, the law's initial implementation resulted in the dismissal of 1,145 teachers, i.e., more than 14 percent of all teaching staff. Until 1938, the law with several additions led to the dismissal of 33 percent of all university teachers (Titze 1989: 225; Zymek 1989: 192). It is conceivable that these measures found acceptance, or at least did not meet with major resistance, because those who were not excluded hoped to benefit from the removal of competitors for work opportunities. In German

society in general this seems to have worked. The brutal measures and policy of exclusion in combination with the economy running full steam in preparation for war completely resolved the problem of unemployment by 1937 (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989a: 6). The development at the university may have deviated from the general pattern.

When student numbers reached an unprecedented climax in 1931, university education was in a devastating crisis of overcrowding. It was thought that the number of new admissions to the university would have to be reduced to half of its current size in order to remedy the situation. Though drafts for the required legislation were prepared, it was only the National Socialist government that enacted the *Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung der deutschen Schulen und Hochschulen* (law against overcrowding at German universities and polytechnics) on April 25, 1933. Among the measures decreed was a limitation of Jewish students to 1.5 percent in the first year and of women students to 10 percent as well as an option to issue annual regulations with a quota for the overall number of students admitted to study (Titze 1989: 227; Zymek 1989: 188). The law did not actually take effect,[15] because student numbers plunged. Since 1932 their numbers dropped rapidly to some 62,000 students in the summer of 1939, that is less than half of the number in 1931 (Titze 1989: 210). The decline was even greater in some faculties: since 1939, almost every second student studied medicine (Titze 1989: 212).

Several factors contributed to the decline. One was certainly the experience of academic unemployment. Another one was the low birthrate during and after the First World War which meant that less children were reaching university age (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989a: 3–4; Zymek 1989: 176–77). A third factor was the reintroduction of obligatory military service: young men went to the army instead of studying at the university or joining the labor market. The exclusion of Jewish students was of major consequence for the victims themselves and for the political culture, but in numerical terms it was a minor factor, contrary to all propaganda claims. Merely some 4,000 Jewish students studied at universities in Germany in the summer of 1932 (Titze 1989: 227). It is perceivable that also Nazi ideology favoring physical activity over intellectual pursuits added to the decline, though the extent of its influence is difficult to assess. Propaganda obviously did not succeed, when it advocated university training after the regime realized the severe deficit (234–37). Also with regard to women, actual behavior seems to have deviated from ideology. Despite restrictive policies, as for example the limiting quota for university admission or the law (July 30, 1933) making the dismissal of married women from tenured civil service positions compulsory (Müller-Rolli 1989: 248), as well as Nazi ideology depicting women exclusively in the role of housewives and mothers (Langewiesche and Tenorth 1989a: 4), the share of women among students declined modestly, to just below 15 percent in 1939 (from almost 20 percent in the early 1930s). During the Second World War, their share rose to 48 percent in 1943 (Zymek 1989: 189–90; Titze 1989: 211).

Returning to the situation of university teachers, the "law for the restoration of the professional civil service" excluded a considerable part, namely one third by 1938, which improved the career chances of those who remained. These gains may

have been eroded, however, because the number of students declined to half of its former size. This suggests that even after the exclusions, the universities had still too many teachers. In light of the situation, universities were not likely to change their policy and to establish chairs for new disciplines, in which they employed merely lecturers and/or *extraordinarii*. Moreover, the faculty and/or the ministry may not have found it always necessary to fill vacancies (immediately).[16]

From 1933 until 1944 the number of *Habilitationen*, i.e., the procedure for becoming a lecturer, declined by one third in comparison to the period from 1920 to 1933 (Titze 1989: 234–35). The decline may stem from a limited interest in additional teachers on the side of the universities. It may also have resulted from a lack of interest by scholars in university careers, as is indicated by several measures meant to improve employment conditions of young scholars. The NS association of university teachers (especially of the lower ranks) was established in July 1935, the representatives of which officially participated in appointment procedures. In October 1938, the revised law regulating *Habilitations* granted lecturers regular salaries and the option of promotion to the rank of non-tenured professors after a probationary period. In February 1939, a unified pay scale for all university teachers throughout the German *Reich* was introduced by law; and in April 1939, the terms of employment and payment of research assistants were improved (Titze 1989: 233). These measures suggest a policy of making slow motion careers more bearable for the lower ranks, rather than opening the way for any fast track to the top. Since the end of 1939, funds and attention turned to more immediate war concerns.

The training and career path of an *ordinarius*

After this brief sketch of the emergence and development of the modern university, the discussion in the remaining part of the chapter shifts the focus from the institution to the individual scholar working there and attempts to provide an outline of a typical training and career pattern of an *ordinarius* in the humanities with particular reference also to what may have been specific concerns of scholars in minor disciplines such as Oriental studies.[17]

The training and career path of a university teacher underwent major changes in the wake of the educational reform at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century,[18] informal education was very widespread, alongside a variety of different school types. University instruction took almost exclusively the form of lectures. Studies were not structured by anything resembling a regular program of courses. University degrees, as the *Magister* (master) and the doctorate, had usually little structuring influence on the course of the studies. Their requirements seem to have been rather flexible: they may not only have differed from university to university, and at each university over time, but it was quite possible to study at one faculty and to graduate from another. The vast majority of university teachers were professors, which meant that most of them were appointed directly to a chair. Universities tended to choose candidates for new appointments from among former graduates of their own universities. The formal condition for being considered a candidate was usually the master degree.

In principle professors were supposed to hold also a doctoral degree and have undergone a procedure of *Habilitation*. The former was characterized by a disputation in which the candidate publicly showed his ability to discuss an academic topic with a professor. Since the participating professor was entitled to a fairly high fee for his part in the show, students tended to conclude their studies with the master degree instead. Only when they were about to receive an appointment to a chair, many, though not all candidates obtained a doctoral degree—not necessarily in the field in which they intended to teach. The procedure of *Habilitation* was meant as a demonstration of a candidate's ability to lecture. It was supposed to consist of a series of public lectures, including one on a topic chosen by the faculty which the candidate had to prepare on short notice. It seems that in practice, the *Habilitation* was frequently forgotten.

For the most part, the educational reforms of the beginning of the nineteenth century did not directly redefine the conditions for university appointments. Nonetheless the typical career path of a university teacher was considerably transformed mainly due to growing ministerial involvement in the appointment process and the side-effects of the reform of university education in general. Contrary to Humboldt's proclaimed ideal of general education (*Bildung*), most students attended university in order to obtain the qualification for a profession. They had to make a living on the basis of their training—a fact for which they were derogatorily called, *Brotstudenten*, the literal translation of which is "bread (winning) students" (Jarausch 1991: 331).

Prospective professors were no exception. But nobody could—in practical terms—study with the intention to work at the university. Appointments would usually not follow shortly after graduation and one could not be certain that they would happen at all. Thus the students who wanted to become professors and who did not belong to the small minority with independent financial means had to seek an additional bread-winning qualification that would provide for their livelihood until they were able to obtain an appointment, or in case this never came through. In the eighteenth century, scholars in the disciplines at the faculty of philosophy tended to work as teachers and especially as private teachers during the period between graduation and first university appointment.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the reforms caused major change. Since schooling became obligatory and attendance at a *Gymnasium* was made the precondition for university studies, informal education was reduced to the elementary level,[19] until it was replaced by private prep schools in the course of the nineteenth century, which in turn lost their position to (public) elementary schools since the end of the century. This meant that the chances of finding work as a private teacher dwindled, especially if one wanted to teach higher levels. At the same time, working as a (high-)school teacher became restricted to those who took a state exam. Since alternative work options were limited, also students who hoped eventually to find employment at the university tended to seek a qualification as teacher. The trend towards graduation by state exam is reflected by the fact that by 1870 the master degree, as all other university degrees, apart from the doctoral one, had fallen in disuse. The pursuit of the qualification as

(high-)school teacher shaped much of the educational stages in the life of a future professor.

Like other pupils intending to study at the university in order to take the state exam, future university teachers attended a *Gymnasium*, i.e., a high school organized in the form of a nine-year course emphasizing classical studies, and took the final high-school exam (*Abitur*).[20] Although unrestricted university access was granted also to graduates of specific secondary schools (*Realgymnasium* and *Oberrealschule*) at the beginning of the twentieth century, education at a *Gymnasium* remained the rule for the vast majority of university teachers at least until the middle of twentieth century. The only systematic but numerically negligible exception were women scholars, who usually could not attend a *Gymnasium* because it was a school for boys only.

The introduction of the state exam as concluding stage of university training had repercussions for the organization of university studies. The regulations for the admission to the exam laid down a minimum period of study before the student could take the exam. In the nineteenth century, the minimum period was three years (Turner 1987: 242). In 1917, it was extended to four years, and reduced again to three years in 1940 (Müller-Rolli 1989: 244). In addition, the regulations defined a canon of knowledge and abilities that the student would have to prove in the exam (Jarausch 1991: 331–32). As mentioned, the Prussian regulations of 1810 offered the choice of philology, history or mathematics. In 1831, these three alternatives were redefined: classical languages and German; mathematics and sciences; or history and geography. After 1848 the Austrian regulations followed the Prussian model, whereas in Bavaria the choice remained limited to classical philology until 1873. These exam definitions of fields of knowledge corresponded to the delineation of major disciplines at the faculty of philosophy (Stichweh 1984/1994). The exam regulations of 1887 listed 11 disciplines; and in 1898 it were already 15 (Titze 1989: 346–47). As disciplinary differentiation grew, exam choices turned into clusters of disciplines. Since 1917, students were required to be examined for advanced academic proficiency in two major disciplines; and in 1940 a third one was added (Müller-Rolli 1989: 244).

Though the exam regulations defined what a student should know at the end of his studies, they were not translated into any proper course program (Jarausch 1991: 331). It was up to the student to decide how and when to acquire the knowledge and the abilities required for the exam. Thus university studies remained fairly unstructured, which put them into stark contrast to high-school education which was based on a very rigid and tight schedule. Most students would need the first year in order to adjust to the altered circumstances, in particular since studying usually also meant leaving home and living on their own. During the second year, students tended to pursue such matters of general interest as listening to lectures of famous professors irrespective of their field of specialization. It was usually only in the third/last year that students focused on the subjects in which they intended to take the exam (Turner 1987: 242–43).

The emergence of a more structured study course occurred in the process of the shift of emphasis from lectures toward courses for smaller student groups. This

development began with the introduction of seminars. Already in the eighteenth century, some seminars were established at universities, which were meant to provide a practical pedagogic training course for students of theology who intended to work as teachers (Turner 1987: 234–35). They fell in disuse when future teachers no longer studied theology but rather at the faculty of philosophy. In the early nineteenth century, a new type emerged, at first in the field of classical studies. Leading classicists, namely Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) at Halle, August Boeckh (1785–1867) at Berlin, Gottfried Hermann (1772–1848) at Leipzig, and Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1860) at Munich, founded the first *Seminare* (seminars). Initially on an informal basis, they offered study courses to third-year students intended to introduce them to research and serve as preparation for the exam. A professor would work with a small group of students (seminar), usually in the living room at his home, rather than just give a lecture at the university.

Institutionalization occurred when the university provided a room for that purpose, which was also called *Seminar* (in this context to be translated as "institute"). In the course of time, the model of the *Seminar* of classical philology was adopted by other disciplines; the first ones to follow were history and the other philologies. Since the 1860s, institutes became the norm in all disciplines in which teacher exams could be taken (235). Since the latter parts of the nineteenth century, institutes were also established in such minor disciplines as Oriental studies (Lundgreen 1983: 172–73, Table 14; Hanisch 2003: 58). The seminars offered quite a number of advantages for the students: comprehensive preparation for the exam, at times even scholarships, and the prospect of preferential treatment when applying for the position as high school teachers after graduation (Turner 1987: 235). At the same time, they increased students' dependence on the university teacher. The student's admission to the seminar was a matter of the professor's discretion, even after proper institutionalization. Conditions which professors imposed on admission resulted in further informal structuring of the student's study course. But they also tended to limit the student's freedom of choice. Professors are reported to have used their positions to prevent their students from "fraternizing with the enemy," even in the form of attending lectures and courses given by their rivals (Weber 1984: 337–38).

It is very difficult to determine how influential and widespread this informal structuring was. Already the lack of any formal structure makes it impossible to discern, what students actually studied and to what extent these studies were pursued. Biographical accounts which were usually written long after university training tend not to distinguish between courses in which the student enrolled because they were considered necessary for exam and/or degree purposes, and lectures which he attended more casually, out of general interest (Willett 2001: 128–29; Weber 1984: 108–15). Moreover, the increasing mobility of students makes it not only more difficult to investigate possibly existing course patterns, but may have neutralized some of the informal pressures a professor could bring to bear on his students.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, students became also more mobile. During the eighteenth century most students studied at one university

only, usually at a university close to their home towns. Only a few universities like Göttingen attracted students from a much wider geographical range. In the nineteenth century, a new pattern emerged (Willett 2001: 114). In the first year, students would choose a university close to home, in the second year, the trend was to move to one of the big universities with lots of famous professors; and in the third year, the students moved to the university where they intended to take the exam (Willett 2001: 122). Students, who were considering a university career, needed also a doctoral degree, which was more often than in the eighteenth century obtained at the concluding stage of university training. This may be one of the reasons why future professors seem to have studied a bit longer than other students, in most cases, four to five years (Willett 2001: 145). For the doctoral degree, students often moved to universities that were know to have lower requirements than others (Turner 1987: 242–43). This practical approach became possible because the employment policy at universities changed. Whereas in the eighteenth century universities preferred to hire their own graduates, a distinct trend towards opening employment opportunities to outsiders emerged in the course of the nineteenth century. Thus it became increasingly unimportant for the academic career at which university the doctoral degree was obtained (Willett 2001: 120–21, 124).

The change in the employment policy was in part a function of the more active involvement of the state/ministry which resulted from the need for state funding. The relocation of the decision over appointments to university positions from individual universities to the ministries led to a standardization of the criteria of qualification and thus contributed to the process of professionalization (Turner 1987: 239). Another, related, factor was the concept of research as distinguishing characteristic of academic work since the nineteenth century. Research achievements in form of publications could be evaluated and compared also over geographical distance. This allowed choosing candidates on the basis of merit from among all German-speaking scholars (Baumgarten 1997: 17–18).

The emphasis on research in the qualification for academic work changed also the conditions for entering the profession. Whereas the disputation used to be the main part of the doctoral degree, the dissertation based on independent research became the central task since the middle of the nineteenth century (Willett 2001: 142–43). Contrary to the term "independent research," the implication of the redefined dissertation was a growing dependence of the student on an individual professor. Often a professor would agree to supervise a thesis only if the student had previously attended his courses, especially his seminars. Moreover, students often depended on the professor to find a suitable topic for the dissertation and—even more commonly and importantly—to get access to sources (Weber 1984: 341–43).

Until 1867, the thesis had to be written in Latin at the faculties of medicine and philosophy at Prussian universities, afterwards students could choose either Latin or German. In 1866 the requirement of a Latin essay was dropped from the teacher exam, except for classical philology where it remained part of the exam until 1887 (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 267 n. 87). This may explain why dissertations in classical philology and related disciplines tended to be written

in Latin even after 1866.[21] Since the doctorate was a university degree and thus not target of state regulations, the standardization process throughout the German university system was rather lengthy. Only by 1900 a common standard was achieved, according to which the candidate was required to have attended a high/secondary school for nine years, passed the exam (*Abitur*), studied at a university for three years, and written a dissertation based on independent research and passed an oral exam (Jarausch 1991: 331).

The second prerequisite for entering the profession, namely the *Habilitation*, was more directly under state control, since it led to a teaching position (without a salary) at the university, and thus it became regulated already in the first half of the nineteenth century—at least on paper (Jarausch 1991: 331). Once again research became the main criteria. The candidate was required to have a doctoral degree and to write a second major dissertation, either in German or Latin, on the basis of independent research and to defend it publicly. Lecturing remained part of the procedure, but it was no longer the central criterion (Willett 2001: 160–61). On that basis, the faculty in conjunction with the ministry could decide to grant the *venia legendi* (the permit to teach at the university) for a field, the delineation of which was a matter of the faculty's discretion. For the candidate, it was very important to obtain a wide *venia legendi* in order to secure as many employment opportunities as possible (Weber 1984: 134). This was of particular centrality for scholars in minor disciplines, who had not only to consider future positions, but also needed to be able to offer courses which could attract students from other disciplines. Once the permit was granted, the scholar could become a *Privatdozent* (lecturer), giving lectures in the specified field at that particular university, in compensation for which he was entitled to part of the fees of the students who attend his lectures. In general, these payments did not amount to much.[22] In minor disciples there tended to be fewer students and hence, the income from lecturing remained below average.

Though the regulations for the *Habilitation* came early, full implementation seems to have been achieved only by the end of the nineteenth century (Willett 2001: 161–63; Weber 1984: 130–32). Even then, it still allowed for a great deal of leeway, especially with regard to the decision of how different the second dissertation had to be from the doctoral one in order to qualify. In formal terms, the requirements of the *Habilitation* procedure remained basically unchanged until December 1934, when the candidate became obliged to attend NS training camps for several months as precondition for the *venia legendi*. The regulation was implemented only to a limited degree due to the lack of enthusiasm on the side of the scholars, and abolished in June 1938 (Titze 1989: 232). In October 1938, another revision of the *Habilitation* brought considerable change by granting lecturers regular salaries and the option of promotion to the rank of non-tenured professors after a probationary period (Titze 1989: 233).

The formalization and standardization of the doctoral degree and of the procedure for the *Habilitation* may have contributed to a high academic qualification of university teachers, but they also caused major hazard, because they increased the period of time between graduation and the first paid university employment. The

requirement of a second dissertation meant that a scholar would have to find work after graduation that would support him and at the same time allow him to work on research in order to prepare the dissertation. Once again scholars in minor disciplines faced particular difficulties, since their field of specialization did not correspond to any subject taught at school. If they chose teaching at a school as their bread-winning profession, they were required to study an additional discipline, since 1917, even two major disciplines; and since 1940 three.

Also for other reasons, obtaining a teaching position at a high school became increasingly more difficult. Although the number of positions available for high-school teachers rose steadily since the constitution of the profession in the early nineteenth century, and rapidly between 1870 and 1914, when the number of positions increased threefold (Titze 1989: 345–46; Zymek 1989: 156), it was also highly affected by overcrowding. Since the second half of the 1880s graduates began to have difficulties to find proper employment. In 1892/3 only one tenth of the candidates were actually able to obtain a position. By 1898, prospective teachers faced a waiting period of more than eight years until their first employment (Jarausch 1991: 317–19). Even for those lucky enough not to fall victim to overcrowding, preconditions became harder. Since 1826, graduates seeking employment as high-school teachers in Prussia were obliged to work without salary for a probation period of one year, which was meant/justified as practical training stage. In 1890, practical training was extended to two years: one year instruction at a teachers' training college and another one teaching at a school. By 1904, most German states followed the Prussian model; the two exceptions, Württemberg and Bavaria, joined in 1912/1913 (Titze 1989: 348–49). In 1917, an additional exam was introduced at the end of the two years of practical training (Titze 1989: 348). Moreover, after the First World War, the number of teaching positions increased very modestly (Zymek 1989: 157; Titze 1989: 345–46), or were even reduced during the periods of major economical crisis in 1923 and 1930–32 (Müller-Rolli 1989: 246–48), while the threat of unemployment multiplied with the unprecedented increase in student numbers in the second half of the 1920s.

Alternative options for making a living were rather limited. In the sciences and medicine, graduates could find employment at the university as paid assistants at research institutes (laboratories and clinics), the number of which grew as part of the process of disciplinary differentiation. In the humanities, the number of institutes was even greater than in the sciences, but they did usually not provide any employment opportunities. An institute (*Seminar*) was formally established when the university provided a room for that purpose. The size allotted could vary considerably from one room only, as the Oriental institute at the university in Kiel (Dammann 1987), to an entire building, as, for example, the Oriental institute at Bonn (Kahle 1998: 137–43). Additional university funding was made available for research equipment, which meant mostly books and manuscripts in the humanities that were kept in the room(s) of the institute.

Funds for salaries of research personnel were hardly available. On average, an institute in the humanities at Prussian universities had funds for less than one

position, whereas in the sciences the rate rose from 1.7 in 1875 to more than four positions in 1931 (Lundgreen 1983: 165, Table 9/a). Moreover, the small amount of funds available was not necessarily used for assistants. In classical philology, for example, they were paid to the professor who headed the institute until the end of the nineteenth century. Later these payments stopped, and assistants appear on the payrolls. Their highest number was seven at ten Prussian universities in 1925 (Lundgreen 1983: 168, Table 12/a). The situation at history institutes may have been a bit better, but also there assistants became more common only in the 1920s and 1930s (Weber 1984: 121–26). German philological institutes were in a much worse position. They had no funds for academic personnel until 1925, when one assistant was employed which meant that nine Prussian universities still had none. By 1931, the number of assistants had risen to two (Lundgreen 1983: 168, Table 12/a). In such minor disciplines as Oriental studies, funding for personnel tended to be even scarcer.

Graduates of Oriental studies had hardly any employment opportunities outside the university, not least due to the "lack" of colonies. There were no projects in Oriental studies at any of the academies of sciences which were at all comparable to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* or the work of the historical commission at the Bavarian academy of sciences that provided many young scholars in the field of history with employment (Weber 1984: 341–42). Even work in the diplomatic service was usually not an option, since candidates were required to have a degree in law. When German foreign policy moved to greater involvement outside Europe in the 1880s and expertise in non-European cultures and societies became necessary, it was decided to establish a college/school for Oriental languages (*SOS*) in Berlin in order to provide law graduates with training in the additional skills required (Hanisch 2003: 40–45), rather than to break the monopoly of the law graduates over the higher ranks of the civil service. Other employment alternatives for graduates of Oriental studies were libraries and museums with an Oriental collection, which were also small in numbers.

The problem was by no means solved when the scholar became a lecturer. Then he was supposed to teach (without salary), he had to work in order to earn his living, and he needed to publish in order to be considered for a salaried appointment at a university in the German system. At the University of Erlangen in the eighteenth century, for example, the time between graduation and first paid appointment was less than six years, for almost 40 percent of all professors. During the first half of the nineteenth century, their share sank to 31 percent. In the second half of the nineteenth century, more than half of all professors had to wait for six to ten years to get the first appointment. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the waiting period was more than ten years for 63 percent of all professors (Willett 2001: 149). The extended period of unpaid work is thought to have made the admission to the career of a university teacher dependent on socio-economic standing rather than merit (Jarausch 1991: 327–28).

While the period between graduation and the first paid appointment got longer, the conditions of the first appointment deteriorated. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, the position of the *extraordinarius* became increasingly

widespread. An *extraordinarius* (assistant professor) held a tenured position, received a salary but was not a member of the faculty. Until the second half of the 1870s, the salary was about a third of an *ordinarius*' salary. Then the situation improved considerably. The salary rose to 75 percent of the basic salary for an *ordinarius*, but it already fell back to 60 percent before the First World War (Willett 2001: 171–72). As the position of the *extraordinarius* became increasingly part of the typical career pattern, its duration became longer, on average from three to more than five years. Moreover, this stage tended to be shorter for scholars who received an appointment at another university, than for those who were promoted to a chair at the same university (Willett 2001: 175–76). Since vacancies were not publicly announced and one could not officially apply for a position, job offers were a function of scholarly reputation and good connections.

The establishment of new disciplines in the faculty of philosophy and their internal differentiation coincided with the emergence of the modern academic career path. After an initial phase in the first half of the nineteenth century, one could hope for the appointment as *ordinarius* only as the concluding stage of an academic career. For those lucky enough to have made it to that position, the chair system entailed that they had basically to work on their own. The university structure consisted of chairs within a faculty, not subdivided into any departments. In other words, the institutional setting did not provide a framework for a meaningful division of labor. The *ordinarius*, the scholar appointed to the chair, carried the teaching load for the full range of the field. He may have been supported by one or two lecturers and usually not more than one *extraordinarius*.

Even when institutes (*Seminare*) were introduced, the single-chair system remained in place, since the institute would usually consist of one chair only. Institutes increased the administrative work load for the *ordinarii* who headed them, while not necessarily providing funds for employing an assistant. For example, Georg Jacob (1862–1937) was director of the Oriental institute at the university in Kiel, which consisted of one room serving as his office, as classroom and as library. Luckily the room had a high ceiling, thus ample wall space was available for the book shelves. The administrative tasks at the institute were minor, but Jacob had also to take upon himself the task of the librarian (Dammann 1987). Paul Kahle (1875–1964) was in a rather different, though not necessarily better situation when he was director of the Oriental institute at the university in Bonn. His institute was rather big and well funded, even with regard to research assistants. Kahle reports, however, that he spent much of his time expanding the institute's collection and activities in Far Eastern studies, which were—despite his great knowledge—not at the heart of his expertise (Kahle 1998). The mixed blessing of the advance from *ordinarius* to director of an institute may have been the reason why Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) refused to have an institute, when he was offered the chair at the university of Strassburg (Hanisch 2003: 47).

3 Writings and writers on the Middle East

In order to shift the perspective from the research tradition to the researchers in the field, the investigation has to begin by identifying the scholars who pursued a career at the university and specialized in Middle East studies. The institutional framework of the university, in particular the designation of chairs, is the obvious starting point. As mentioned in the introduction, however, not a single chair in Middle East studies, defined as Arabic and Islamic studies, existed at any German university during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries.[1] Therefore, the institutional designation does not allow identifying the group of scholars I intend to investigate.

The aim of discerning the scholars in question may be achieved by two alternative research strategies. Remaining within the institutional framework, the investigation can use the wider definition of Oriental studies and check the scholars who held appointments in the discipline against a professional bibliography (Bär 1985–94). The problem is, however, that not all relevant university archives have survived and are complete (Hanisch 2003: 213). The second strategy works the other way round. It begins with a survey of publications and then proceeds to tracing the biographical details of the authors in an attempt to identify the scholars among them and follow their professional careers. Two options exist for the survey of publications. One is a bibliography of Islamic and Semitic studies published in German since the nineteenth century (Bär 1985–94), which is restricted to scholarly writings and lists the entries according to subjects. The second bibliography (Sezgin 1990–93) is not restricted to scholarly publications only, but aims at including all German publications on the Middle East, with emphasis on the Arabic-speaking countries. Moreover it lists its entries both according to subjects and to authors. For the present study, the second option has been chosen, because it allows not only to identify the scholars in the field of Middle East studies, but also to see them as well as their writings in a wider non-academic context.

By reviewing the publications on Middle East topics in German, I am able to check, for example, whether there was actually no interest in the modern Middle East, as is often claimed in the literature. The survey of the authors allows identifying those writers who contributed most prominently and may have been considered an authority on the Middle East. To establish who these writers were and what might have been the source of their authority, the investigation can draw on biographical dictionaries,[2] biographical writings and obituaries.[3] This type of

biographical material has usually the advantage of providing a complete "life-story" in what was considered by the standards of the time (of writing) meaningful categories of career and life patterns. Thus different types of prominent writers can be discerned, namely professional scholars in Middle East studies, scholars who tried but did not succeed in making a living in the profession, scholars of other disciplines who wrote on the Middle East, as well as non-academic writers.

The professional scholars may then be reconnected to the framework of the discipline of Oriental studies at the university, by establishing who worked when, at which university, in which position, and by comparing their actual careers with the career patterns prevailing at the time as discerned by available prosopographic studies. The comparative context can be further broadened by drawing on historiographic accounts of other fields in Oriental studies and on obituaries in professional journals in order to extend the career review also to scholars in the discipline of Oriental studies who did not specialize in Middle East studies. On the basis of the material thus gathered, I attempt to discern career patterns and the development of the field.

Survey of writings on the Middle East

The first eleven volumes of the *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Arabistik und Islamkunde von den Anfängen bis 1986* (Sezgin 1990–99) contain a bibliography of German publications on Middle East topics, both academic and non-academic works, arranged according to subjects. The bibliography is based on a survey of titles from bibliographies, journals and catalogues,[4] rather than the publications themselves. Thus the bibliography may have entries of publications which were listed incorrectly or announced prematurely, while they were actually never published. From the perspective of the present study, the bibliography has another limitation, namely its focus on the Arabic-speaking countries in the Middle East and hence its neglect of Ottoman and Iranian themes as well as peripheral ones. Within these limitations, however, it provides a comprehensive account.

As explained in the previous chapter, university reforms affected all German universities by the mid-nineteenth century. Thus it can be expected that from that point in time onwards, scholars who sought to pursue an academic career at the university would try to realize their aim by means of scholarly publications. For the period from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century the bibliography contains almost 20,000 entries, both books and articles, which may have been listed more than once, if they relate to different topics. Major qualitative differences may exist among individual entries, not least the difference between a (sizable) book and a short article. Since a qualitative evaluation of all entries is not feasible, I have decided to consider every entry as a single unit in my survey. My choice is based on the consideration that each publication, be it a book or an article, required a decision from a publisher, who had to evaluate the relatively high costs of production in relation to marketing prospects. In other words, the publication was thought to be of interest for a reading public, in contemporary evaluation. Thus the survey can provide a rough estimate of the topics that were considered interesting at the time of publication, and their importance in relations to each other.

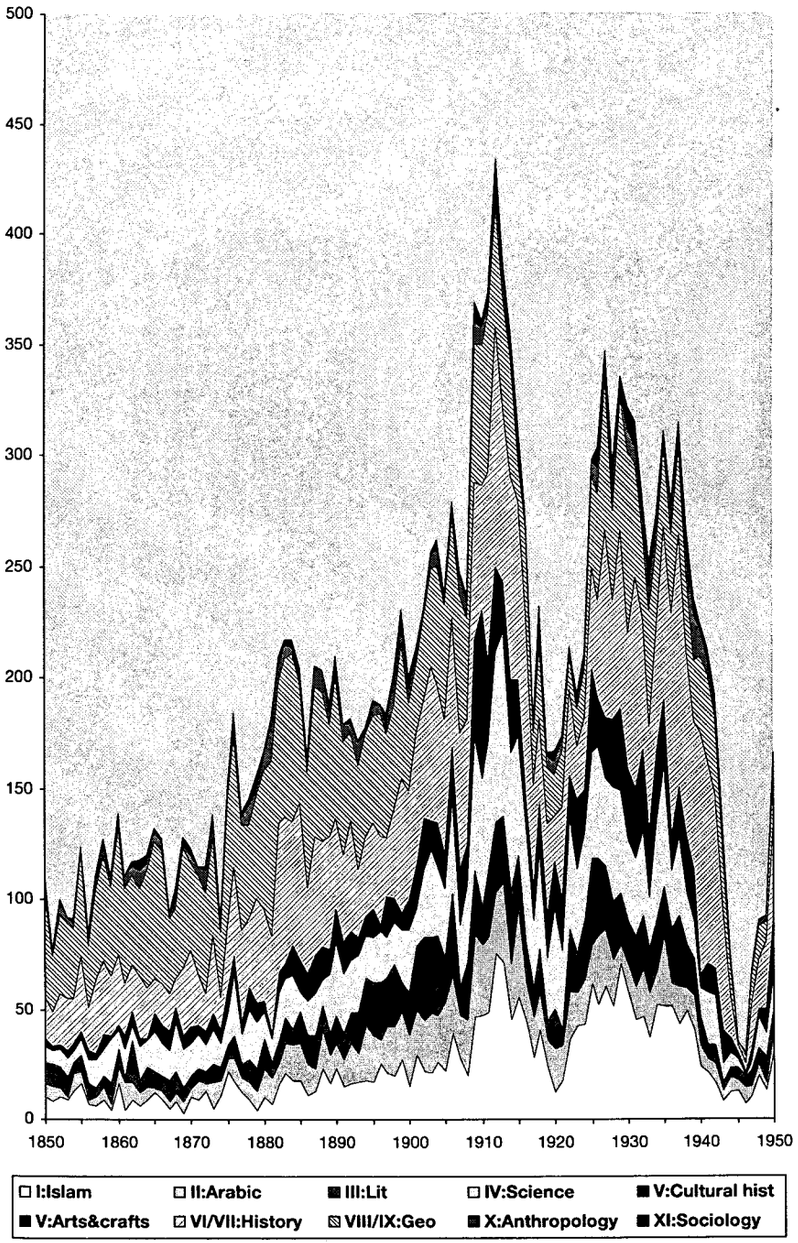

Figure 3.1 Publications according to major subjects and dates

Table 3.1 Numbers of publications according to major subjects and dates

Year	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V.1*	*V.2*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	*X*	*XI*	*Total*
1850–1949	*2,441*	*1,442*	*1,575*	*2,597*	*221*	*1,292*	*1,856*	*2,839*	*581*	*3,769*	*585*	*335*	*19,533*
1850–4	50	26	44	35	3	12	69	33	25	148	21	5	471
1855–9	42	21	32	65	2	16	82	65	22	183	20	7	557
1860–4	44	41	44	56	3	16	61	67	22	212	23	15	604
1865–9	37	18	41	86	10	28	50	46	27	215	16	12	586
1870–4	48	35	31	70	12	18	59	67	18	185	27	9	579
1875–9	64	41	42	101	17	26	93	97	22	229	28	14	774
1880–4	72	65	49	87	8	29	107	167	38	314	39	13	988
1885–9	81	72	63	82	8	61	127	136	37	253	34	10	964
1890–4	89	81	76	129	8	51	99	99	49	199	27	9	916
1895–9	110	97	113	104	5	48	121	85	38	220	33	16	990
1900–4	113	115	154	148	9	79	103	190	20	187	25	15	1,158
1905–9	154	140	124	197	18	108	129	177	37	233	32	18	1,367
1910–14	286	155	140	339	21	183	124	296	46	247	41	27	1,905
1915–19	191	107	80	211	15	77	104	185	38	103	26	21	1,158
1920–4	151	92	98	208	9	104	73	86	13	85	19	15	953
1925–9	294	105	151	235	24	130	108	199	44	316	38	32	1,576
1930–4	237	85	108	179	16	144	110	208	29	230	45	45	1,436
1935–9	234	85	115	155	19	99	128	312	28	147	52	30	1,404
1940–4	81	36	34	76	8	45	72	281	19	130	31	20	833
1945–9	63	25	36	34	6	18	37	43	9	33	8	2	314

Notes
I: Islam; II: Arabic Language. Philology; III: Arabic Literature; IV: History of the sciences. Philosophy, medicine, sciences; V.1: Cultural history; V.2: Arts and Crafts; VI: History, Economy and administration until 1800; VII: History, Economy and administration since 1800; VIII: Geography until 1800; IX: Arab countries (nineteenth and twentieth centuries): Geography (Landeskunde), expedition reports, travel guides and reports; X: Anthropology; XI: Sociology

Arranged in chronological order, publications on Middle East subjects, i.e., the sum of the individual counts according to topics (Figure 3.1), can be seen to follow the pattern of German publications in general (Ungern-Sternberg 1987: 386–87; Jäger 1991; Schütz and Wegmann 1989). Publishing was at a low point in the mid-nineteenth century and rose very slowly until the end of the 1860s. After the Franco-Prussian war and the establishment of the unified German state (*Reich*), a considerable increase followed in the 1870s and early 1880s. Then it leveled off a bit for about a decade. In the second half of the 1890s a steep increase set in which reached its peak just on the eve of the First World War. During the early 1920s, publication activities recovered from the low which occurred in the course of the war—though without reaching again the pre-war figures. As of the second half of the 1920s, a slow decline set in due to the economic crisis, followed by the establishment of the NS regime. Publishing activities plunged in the course of the Second World War.

Given that relations with the Middle East were not a central factor in the historical development of Germany or Austria, i.e., the two major political entities, the congruence between the pattern of publications on Middle East topics (as shown in Figure 3.1) and that of publishing in general means that there is *prima facie* no direct connection between German publications on the Middle East and German political interests in the region. This observation does certainly not exclude the possibility that individual publications may have been directly motivated by colonial interests. But in order to explain the overall development of publishing/writing on Middle East topics, the colonial context alone does not suffice. The findings of the survey suggest seeing the publications on Middle East topics as a part of the general social and cultural developments to which colonial politics may have contributed. Thus the connection, in so far as it existed, would be a mediated, indirect one.

With regard to the internal differentiation according to major topics, three observations may be of interest. First, in the German tradition, Middle East studies are usually defined as Arabic and Islamic studies. That definition corresponds to the first three categories in the subject survey: writings on (I.) Islam, on (II.) Arabic languages and on (III.) Arabic literature, which are presented as the three areas closest to the horizontal axis (see also Figure 3.2). These three categories together amount on average to 28 percent of the total number of entries (for the figures, see Table 3.1). Since the bibliography also includes non-academic publications, the number of the academic publications can be expected to be even lower. Until the first half of the 1890s, the part of the three categories together remained below the average of 28 percent of the total number of entries. As of the second half of the 1890s it was fairly stable at an average of 32 percent with two exceptions: First, it rose higher in the 1920s, especially in the first half, reaching a high of 36 percent, which may be attributable to the fact that after the First World War German nationals could not travel to the Middle East until 1926, when the Weimar Republic became a member of the League of Nations.[5] The second deviation occurred in the 1940s, when the percentage dropped to 18 percent and after 1945 jumped to almost 40 percent of a sum total that had plunged from 1,404 (1935–39) to 314 entries.

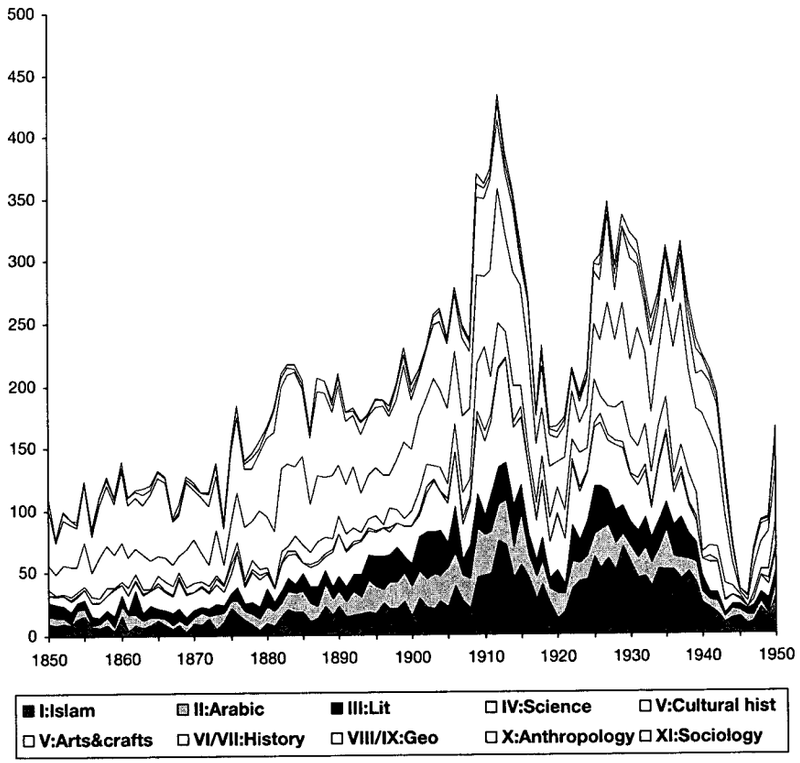

Figure 3.2 Distribution—Arabic and Islamic studies vs. other topics

The second observation concerns writings on the history of the sciences. In the various accounts on the history of the field, research in the history of the sciences tends to be laudably mentioned as a sideline of the field (e.g., Paret 1968: 30–33). The survey shows more entries in that "sideline" (the fourth area from the horizontal axis, Figure 3.3) than for any of the three categories of the "core," namely 2,597 entries on the history of the sciences, while there were only 2,441 entries on Islam, 1,442 on Arabic philology, and 1,575 on Arabic literature (Table 3.1). These figures might be slightly distorted, given that the bibliography project was undertaken within the framework of an institute that specializes on the sciences. But even then, these figures remain quite impressive. The perception of a sideline seems therefore astonishing. The perception may stem from the delineation of Middle East studies in professional terms. As the survey of the writers below will show, researchers in the history of the sciences tended to be scientists who took an interest in the history of their discipline, including the Arab tradition, rather than professional scholars in Middle East studies.

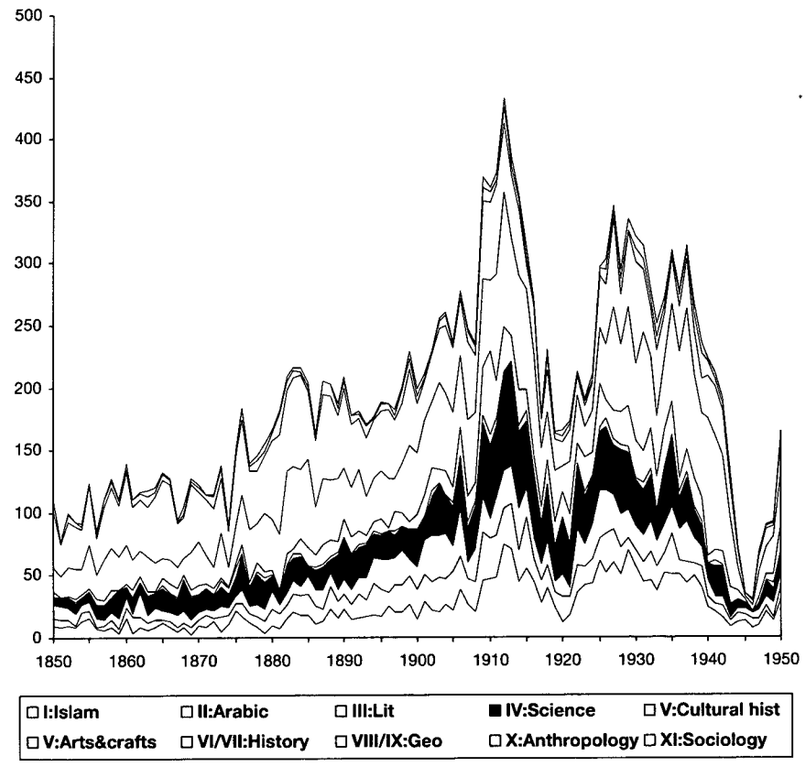

Figure 3.3 Distribution—history of the sciences vs. other topics

The third observation concerns the extent of the writings on *Kulturgeschichte*, a specific German type of cultural history, which has received much attention in the literature, in particular in connection with Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) (van Ess 1980; Johansen 1990: 83–87; Haridi 1995). The survey has found only 221 entries on the topic (category V.1 in Table 3.1)—the very thin layer on top of the relatively wide fourth layer (from the horizontal axis) representing publications in the history of the sciences in Figure 3.4. *Kulturgeschichte* thus appears to have been a truly minor sideline.

During the entire period under investigation, Arabic and Islamic studies accounted for less than a third of all German writings on the Middle East. If the entries on the history of sciences and on *Kulturgeschichte* are added, these writings amount on average to 42 percent of all writings on the Middle East. The 50 percent mark was surpassed twice: following the First World War, with 59 percent at the highest point (1920–24), and after 1945. Thus there is no indication that the specific focus of Middle East studies in the German tradition could be explained as

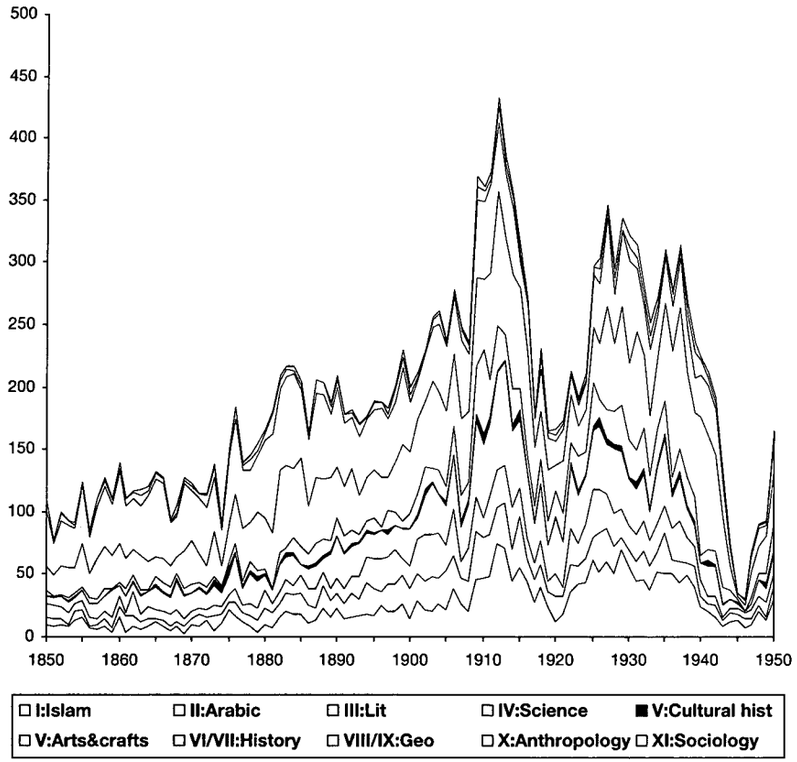

Figure 3.4 Distribution—*Kulturgeschichte* vs. other topics

function of any notion held by the wider public on how the Middle East should be studied. The survey of the publications (especially, categories V to XI) shows that other aspects of the Middle East were considered to be of major interest.

Another common characterization of Middle East studies in the German tradition is its lack of concern for contemporary Middle East societies. In order to check whether or not such a lack of interest in contemporary issues manifested itself in the publications, a second survey has been undertaken which distinguishes between entries relating to the contemporary Middle East and those dealing with historical, in the sense of non-contemporary issues in the thematic bibliography. For the count, a cautious approach has been adopted. Only entries that were clearly dealing with contemporary issues were counted as such. An item that contained both contemporary and historical parts was counted in both categories.

From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, contemporary issues accounted for 44 percent of all entries (Figure 3.5 and Table 3.2). The percentage share of entries on contemporary issues appears to have been a fairly stable. Until

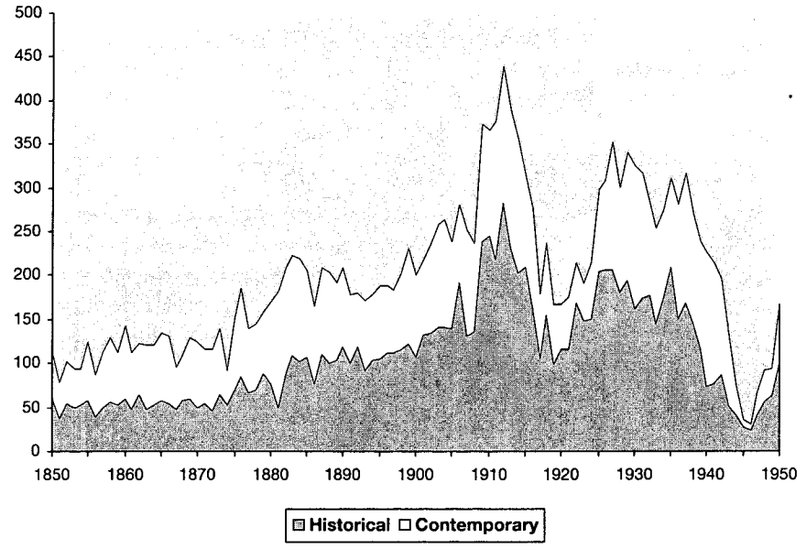

Figure 3.5 Distribution—historical vs. contemporary issues

the first half of the 1880s the share was a bit higher than average, namely 54 percent. From 1885 to the end of the First World War, i.e., the imperial or colonial phase proper in German history, it actually sank to 42 percent. In the early 1920s a further decline occurred which is probably attributable to the prohibition against German nationals entering the Middle East until 1926. Afterwards the share returned to average, until the balance was upset again in the course of the Second World War. Given that the survey can provide only a rough estimate, it is hard to tell how meaningful the differences are. However, there is no indication for any definite link between colonial aspirations and writings on issues concerning the contemporary Middle East.

Checking writings on what would be obvious colonial-interest issues, namely contemporary politics, economy, and administration (category VII in Table 3.1) may throw further light on the apparent lack of an unambiguous link between colonial aspirations and writings on the contemporary Middle East. This category (VII.) is a rather big one: 2,839 entries, which is more than the entries on the history of science (2,597) or on Islam (2,441). It is only surpassed by the 3,769 entries in category IX: geography of nineteenth and twentieth centuries which includes also travel accounts. The interesting feature of the survey of the writings on contemporary politics, economy and administration, as shown in Figure 3.6, is what is "missing."

Since the German government embarked on its colonial policy in 1884, one might expect that the policy change triggered growing public interest in contemporary affairs in what were considered (potential) colonial regions including the Middle East and that therefore the number of publications on the issue rose. Instead, the survey shows that the number of publications declined from 1885

Table 3.2 Distribution–historical vs. contemporary issues

Year	*Historical*	*Contemp*	*Contemporary (%)*	*Total*
1850–1949	*10,980*	*8,784*	*44%*	*19,764*
1850–4	252	228	48%	480
1855–9	255	310	55%	565
1860–4	273	346	56%	619
1865–9	276	312	53%	597
1870–4	268	319	54%	587
1875–9	379	402	51%	781
1880–4	426	577	58%	1,003
1885–9	499	477	49%	976
1890–4	534	387	42%	921
1895–9	570	424	43%	994
1900–4	658	518	44%	1,176
1905–9	836	545	40%	1,381
1910–14	1,181	743	39%	1,924
1915–19	730	443	38%	1,173
1920–4	697	264	28%	961
1925–9	989	608	38%	1,606
1930–4	830	622	42%	1,452
1935–9	788	630	45%	1,418
1940–4	328	515	59%	843
1945–9	211	105	30%	316

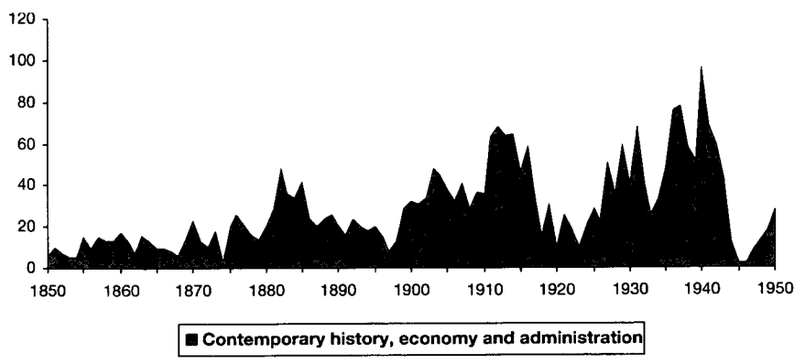

Figure 3.6 Publications on contemporary history, economy and administration (nineteenth and twentieth centuries)

until the second half of the 1890s—a decline that is even rather steep in relation to the general pattern in publications outlined above. From the end of the century until the eve of the First World War, a considerable rise occurred, but it was much lower than might be expected in light of the general pattern in publications. This deviation is also borne out by the fact that the numbers of publications between 1925 and 1945 reached similar or even higher levels.

Thus during the only German colonial period proper, from 1884 to the First World War, the numbers of publications on political affairs in the Middle East were lower than those found for publications in general, i.e., without any apparent special nexus between colonial interests and the subjects of the writings. These findings allow the conclusion that no simple equation between colonial interests and writing/publishing can be assumed.

Before turning to a survey of writers who wrote on the Middle East, a brief consideration of the writings on the pre-nineteenth-century history of the Middle East (category VI in Table 3.1) may be of interest. With 1,856 entries, this category is quite considerable, even larger than categories II and III: Arabic philology (1,442 entries) and Arabic literature (1,575 entries), respectively. While the findings on writings on contemporary political affairs do not quite meet the expectations, those on pre-nineteenth century history frustrate them completely. Though a continuous interest in pre-nineteenth century history appears to have existed, no pattern or development can be discerned in Figure 3.7—apart from the end of the Second World War and, maybe, the end of the First World War. On average, 19 entries are found per year throughout the entire period. Between 1850 and 1880 the average is a bit lower: 14 per year, whereas from 1880 to 1940 it is a bit higher: 22 per year. These very constant figures suggest that writing on pre-nineteenth century Middle East history was not a professional pursuit organized within the university, because the institution underwent major periods of expansion and contraction which would have affected the number of professionals and hence also that of publications.

Survey of writers on Middle East topics

Volumes 12 to 18 (Sezgin 1990–93) contain a bibliography of German writings on the Middle East arranged according to authors. As can be seen in Table 3.3,

Figure 3.7 Publications on pre-nineteenth-century history

a survey of the writers and their publications on Middle East topics published between 1850 and 1950 shows the normal pyramid structure of a field (Collins 1998: 42–44). From among some 5,500 writers with 16,000 publications, two-thirds wrote only one publication. 93 percent of all writers wrote between one and six publications, accounting for about half of all publications in the survey. The other half was published by a small group of 365 writers, i.e., 7 percent of all authors. From among them, 165 writers (i.e., 3 percent of the total) wrote more than 8 percent of all entries, and 220 writers (i.e., 4 percent of the total) contributed 42 percent of all publications listed.

Regarding the distribution of productivity, i.e., the differentiation according to the number of publications per writer, the survey shows that the stratification of the writers on Middle East topics closely resembles the pattern found with regard to the stratification with a scientific field. Given the similarity, the structuring of scientific fields suggests that the 4 percent of all writers who wrote 42 percent of all publications were the most eminent authorities on the Middle East, and that the additional 3 percent of writers who wrote between seven and 10 publications each, were part of the core of the field. Who were they? What might have been the basis of their authority? In order to answer these questions, I have tried to find biographical information on these writers primarily by means

Table 3.3 Writers and their publications on Middle East topics (1850–1950) according to the number of publications per writer

Publications per writer	*Number of writers*	*Number of publications*
1	3,607 (= 65.88%)	3,607 (= 22.5%)
2	762 (= 13.91%)	1,524 (= 9.5%)
3	337 (= 6.15%)	1,011 (= 6.3%)
4	187 (= 3.41%)	748 (= 4.66%)
5	116 (= 2.11%)	580 (= 3.61%)
6	81 (= 1.47%)	486 (= 3.03%)
1–6	5,090 (= 92.96%)	7,956 (= 49.63%)
7	54 (= 0.98%)	378 (= 2.35%)
8	56 (= 1.02%)	448 (= 2.79%)
9	27 (= 0.49%)	243 (= 1.51%)
10	28 (= 0.51%)	280 (= 1.74%)
7–10	165 (= 3.01%)	1,349 (= 8.41%)
> 10	220 (= 4.01%)	6,725 (= 41.95%)
Total	5,475	16,030

of biographical dictionaries and obituaries—in less than a quarter of the cases without success.

A chronological survey according the first publication in German of these writers (Table 3.4) shows a continuous flow of new entries. While the influx of new writers was rather stable (on average 2.6 new writers per year), the number of newcomers began to rise since the 1870s and peaked just before the First World War (6.4 new writers per year), which brought a major down-turn. The figures recovered in the interwar period reaching another height just before the Second World War, after a down-turn in the first half of the 1930s. The development is

Table 3.4 Chronological overview on writers with seven and more publications

Year of first publication in German	*Number of writers with 7 or more publications*	*Number of writers who could not be identified*
Prior to 1850	57	6 (= 11%)
1850–4	12	1 (= 8%)
1855–9	13	1 (= 8%)
1860–4	15	2 (= 13%)
1865–9	12	
1870–4	16	3 (= 19%)
1875–9	27	3 (= 11%)
1880–4	19	4 (= 21%)
1885–9	26	8 (= 31%)
1890–4	25	2 (= 8%)
1895–9	29	2 (= 7%)
1900–4	32	10 (= 31%)
1905–9	27	8 (= 30%)
1910–14	32	11 (= 34%)
1915–19	16	1 (= 6%)
1920–4	27	9 (= 33%)
1925–9	31	13 (= 42%)
1930–4	24	7 (= 29%)
1935–9	38	13 (= 34%)
1940–4	15	9 (= 60%)
1945–9	4	1 (= 25%)
Total until 1934	440	91 (= 21%)
Total until 1949	497	114 (= 23%)

quite close to the general development in German publishing. Therefore, the findings do not allow drawing any conclusions regarding any specific nexus between the writings about the Middle East and political pursuits. In particular, the findings cannot clarify whether the apex before the First World War was just part of the general development or whether it stemmed from German colonial interests in the region at the time.

In the following, the discussion focuses on the top producers, namely those writers who have more than ten publications. In order to check whether or not scholars in Middle East studies were considered the most eminent authorities on the Middle East, three categories have been distinguished:

(A) those scholars who were trained in Middle East studies in accordance with the standards of their time and worked in the profession at the university;
(B) those scholars who were in professional employment terms on the periphery of the field, namely scholars who were appropriately trained, but did not, or at some point ceased to, work as professional scholars in Middle East studies within the German university system;
(C) writers who were neither trained nor worked in Middle East studies.

As Table 3.5 shows, professional scholars (category A) were not the most eminent writers on the Middle East. They constituted only 32 percent of the leading authors. Even if the scholars who were peripheral to the German university system are added, both categories A and B together were not the majority of the top writers. More than half of all top writers were non-professionals (category C).

As can be seen in the detailed list of the writers arranged according to the three categories (Appendix 2), scholars in Middle East studies at German universities were in the minority not only among the writers who published more than ten items on the Middle East, but also among the "top ten," the ten most prolific writers. August Fischer (1865–1949) and Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) are found among the latter, while Enno Littmann (1875–1958) appears on place

Table 3.5 Numerical survey of writers on Middle East subjects with more than ten publications

Number of publications	*Number of writers in category A*	*Number of writers in category B*	*Number of writers in category C*	*Total*
>100	3 (= 25%)	4 (= 33%)	5 (= 42%)	12
50–99	9 (= 45%)	3 (= 15%)	8 (= 40%)	20
25–49	32 (= 54%)	4 (= 7%)	23 (= 39%)	59
11–24	29 (= 21%)	27 (= 19%)	84 (= 60%)	140
>10	73 (= 32%)	38 (= 16%)	120 (= 52%)	231

eleven. From among the three, the various narratives on the history of Middle East studies consider only Nöldeke in some detail. Paret credits him with inaugurating the tradition of Islam studies (Paret 1968: 12–14), and Johansen presents him as a leading scholar in the German tradition of Oriental studies which Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–88) is thought to have shaped (Johansen 1990: 78). By contrast, two of the four "peripheral" scholars among the top ten have received much more attention: Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) who was based in Budapest and therefore not part of the German university system proper; and Martin Hartmann (1851–1918), one of the leading promoters of Islamic studies. After his university training in Oriental studies, M. Hartmann worked in the consular service. Upon his return to Berlin, he found employment as Arabic lecturer at the *SOS* (School for Oriental languages), an institute founded in 1887 in order to train future civil servants, who were usually law graduates, for work in the diplomatic and consular service (Johansen 1990: 87; Hanisch 2003: 40–45; Mangold 2004: 226–50). Despite all his efforts, M. Hartmann was unable to obtain an appointment at a university (Hanisch 1992 and 2003: 189; *NDB* 7: 745–46; *DBE* 4: 411; Fück 1955: 172, 269–73; Paret 1968: 17; Ellinger 2006: 487).

The two other "peripheral" scholars are Oskar Rescher (1883–1972) and Julius Ruska (1867–1949). After his university training, Rescher embarked on an academic career in Oriental studies. But soon after his first appointment as *extraordinarius* he left the profession: he emigrated to Turkey, gave up his German citizenship, resigned from the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, changed his name, and became a Muslim. In Turkey, he did not work at any university (Spuler 1984; Hanisch 2003: 202). While Rescher's story locates him on the outer limit of the periphery, Julius Ruska is on the borderline between the periphery and the core. Ruska was a high-school teacher in mathematics and the sciences, when he (formally) studied Semitic languages. After graduation, his career followed the pattern of a professional career up to his appointment as *extraordinarius* in Semitic languages at Heidelberg in 1915. In 1927 he moved to the University of Berlin as honorary professor and director of the institute for the history of the sciences, which became the institute of the history of medicine and the sciences in 1931 (*DBE* 8: 475–76; Fück 1955: 323; Rex *et al.* 1974: 81; Kraemer 1999: 185; Hanisch 2003: 204; Ellinger 2006: 520–21). The position at Berlin might indicate a process towards the institutional integration of the study of Arab sciences in the discipline of Oriental studies. Since the development occurred only at Berlin, and even there institutionalization was only partial (Ruska was not appointed *ordinarius*), it appears that the process of integration did not yet reach a decisive stage during the period under investigation.

Interesting as these individual biographies may be, a list of the leading scholarly writers does not suffice to discern any obvious narrative of the development of the field. In the chapters below, I intend to construct such a narrative by contextualizing the stories of individual scholars in Middle East studies in terms of the development of the profession at the university. In the remaining part of this chapter, I wish to take a closer look at those prolific writers on Middle East themes who were not scholars in Middle East studies. Among them, a number of distinct

groups can be identified that differ from each other with regard to their major themes of interest and to the forms of authority specific to them. With regard to the latter, two major sources of authority are found. The authority may be a function of the professional qualification in a field other than Middle East studies, and/or it may be a function of "having been there," in other words the authority of the eyewitness.

A major venue towards an interest and expertise in Middle East topics were professional concerns outside the Middle East. Prominent examples were physicians and scientists (such as Heinrich Suter, Eilhard Wiedemann, Julius Hirschberg, Karl Sudhoff, Edmund Oskar von Lippmann, Max Meyerhof, Carl Schoy, and Reinhard Froehner) who were also interested in the history of their disciplines and/or in comparative perspectives. Thus Eilhard Wiedemann (1852–1928) was not only the most prolific writer on Middle East themes, but he was first and foremost a physicist, and he received his university appointment (*ordinarius*) for his work in physics proper (*DBE* 10: 479; Ruska 1928; Fück 1955: 324; Rex *et al.* 1974: 81; Hanisch 2003: 211). His interest in the history of his discipline including the Arab tradition was a "hobby" which he took rather seriously. This pattern prevailed until the institute for the history of the sciences was established at the University of Berlin in 1927 and Julius Ruska became its director. A similar phenomenon of professional scholars extending their interest to the Middle East can also be observed in other disciplines, such as law (Josef Kohler) and musicology (Robert Lachmann), but usually in exceptional cases only.

An extension of the institutionalized interest to Middle East themes occurred in art history, though the institution in question was in the first instance the museum rather than the university. The function of the museum changed quite dramatically in the course of the nineteenth century. While the museum used to be conceived as an exclusive institution, open to a small elite circle only, its redefined function opened it to broad sections of society, mostly the bourgeoisie, and transformed it into a representational and educational device geared towards national integration and the symbolization of power (Ungern-Sternberg 1987: 409–10; Marchand 1996). Following international fashion at the time, as promoted especially by the world exhibitions since 1851 (Mitchell 1988: 1–34), Oriental art exhibits became part of the status symbol of a capital city. Political ambitions and the fashion that went with them opened new options for professional pursuits in connection with the acquisition and handling of such exhibits. The career lines which ensued were not primarily university careers, much rather participation in excavation projects and/or employment at a museum were their dominant features.[6] The crystallization point for this professional field of expertise was the very successful and great Islamic art exhibition at Munich in 1910, which Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) organized with the assistance of Ernst Kühnel (1882–1964) and others. A similar connection between professional expertise and access to exhibits can be observed in the field of numismatics and even with regard to botany.[7]

A focus on Middle East themes can also be found among scholars from fields or disciplines of which the Middle East was part of their domain, namely Jewish studies and theology. In particular scholars of the former had much common ground

with scholars in Middle East studies, not least due to the fact that many of them combined education in various forms of Jewish studies with university training in Middle East studies.[8] After university training, the career paths might have varied considerably, as is illustrated by two prominent examples: Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907) became the founder of the scientific study of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) (*DBE* 9: 501; Fück 1955: 248; Preissler 1995: 276), while Ignaz Goldziher made one of the most outstanding contributions to the scholarly literature written in German on Middle East topics, although he was never employed within the German university system (*DBE* 4: 88; Hartmann 1922; Fück 1955: 226–32; Paret 1968: 15–16; Goldziher 1977; Simon 1986; Patai 1987; Conrad 1999; Hanisch 2003: 187). The interrelation between the two fields changed a bit in the early decades of the twentieth century, when initial steps for establishing Jewish studies at the university occurred (Wassermann 2003).

Considering that Oriental languages used to be part of the faculty of theology until the beginning of the nineteenth century and that also afterwards the study of Middle Eastern languages was part of theological training, one might expect to find also considerable overlapping between concerns of theologians and scholars of Middle East studies. There were certainly scholars who had formal training in both disciplines as for example Theodor Nöldeke, Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), and Paul Kahle (1875–1964), to name just a few prominent ones. However, theologians without formal training in Oriental studies writing on Middle East themes in general seem to have been rather rare. After the initial stage during the first half of the nineteenth century,[9] only two or three such theologians are found among the prolific writers on the Middle East.[10]

There is one exception to that general trend, namely theologians concerned with Palestine studies (e.g., Philipp Wolff, Wilhelm Anton Neumann, Hermann Guthe, Herman Gustav Dalman, Georg Graf, Albrecht Alt). This theological tradition, which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, ties in rather closely with a much wider spectrum of writings on Palestine and/or the Holy Land,[11] which appears to have been of considerable general interest. It is obvious that the concern had a religious basis, but it seems to have gone well beyond it. Though a number of the eminent writers went to Palestine within the framework of a missionary project, the authority or expertise for which they were chosen for publication tended to be their first hand knowledge of Palestine. In other words, it was not their theological subtlety that was in demand but their "having been there."

The centrality of the latter characterizes also the development of the academic pursuit of geography and related fields, in which a considerable interest in Palestine existed (Goren 2003). Geography belonged to the science disciplines which concerned themselves with *Realien* (the material world) (Baumgarten 1997: 80–90). That conception included that authority or expertise was by necessity based on field research undertaken either in person or by proxy, as is well illustrated by the numerous writers who published contributions on the geography of the Middle East and such related issues as ethnography.[12] As the biographies of quite a number of these writers show,[13] an appointment to a chair in the field of geography could be obtained even without formal training or an orderly career path in the

field at the university. The decisive factor tended to be the importance ascribed to findings obtained in the course of exploration trips. Fact finding was a major effort, given the technological means available at the time for such measurements and limited means of transport and communication. By the same token, later technological innovations have deprived these achievements of most of their relevancy (Goren 2003: 356).

It may be of note that such career options did not exist in the field of Oriental studies after the initial stage in the first half of the nineteenth century, during which training was not yet formalized. I found only one proper exception in Indian studies: Hilko Wiardo Schomerus (1879–1945), whose university career commenced due to the rather irregular intervention at the Prussian ministry of education and culture, on his behalf by Nathan Söderblom, a Swedish professor of the history of religion, who became archbishop of Uppsala/Sweden in 1914 (Stache-Rosen 1990). In Middle East studies, the story of Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) provides a rather striking counter example. Glaser had studied Oriental languages at the University of Vienna, but he did not graduate. After he had lived for two years in Tunis, he undertook four extensive exploration trips to Southern Arabia (1882–94) which yielded impressive findings. The material he collected went to libraries and museums in Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna. In particular, he has been considered the founder and pioneer of Sabaean studies. Nonetheless, he was not able to obtain the university appointment he had hoped for (*DBE* 4: 23; *NDB* 6: 429–30; Hommel and Müller 1908; Fück 1955: 256; Hanisch 2003: 186). Of course, one cannot draw too much from a single case. But the fact that Glaser's story was an exceptional case may indicate that in a discipline such as Oriental studies, to which also more mobile sources (texts) were available, the effort of going out and getting them was valued less.

The authority based on "having been there" constituted the very essence of an entire range of other publications that held a prominent position among the writings on the Middle East. The range is quite considerable, spanning from the accounts of explorers and/or travelers[14] to the writings of Germans who lived and worked in the Middle East.[15] The interest in explorations had certainly a colonial aspect to it, in addition to the excitement of the adventure, the exotic, and the novelty—the first-man-on-the-moon syndrome in a discovery-of-America-type situation. The interest in this genre remained high, even after the great discoveries in the region had come to an end. This suggests that the interest was not necessarily limited to colonial aspirations in the strict sense, but often included an interest in tourism, i.e., traveling to foreign places. The possible connection between colonialism and tourism is illustrated by Bernhard Wilhelm Schwarz (1844–1901)—a vicar, who had traveled widely, especially in Africa. In the 1890s, he founded a journal for tourism and established a German colonial travel agency at Coburg (*DBE* 9: 225).

The prominent position of writers in this genre was at least in part due to the practical problems involved which restricted the possibility of traveling to fairly small number of people. As means of communication and transport improved and traveling became an option for wider sections of society, the prominence of the

travel writer declined. Writing about one's travel experience remained fashionable at least until the mid-twentieth century, but the authors joined only in exceptional cases the ranks of the eminent writers on the Middle East. During the entire period the genre span the full range from such adventures tales as those by Hans Helfritz (1902–95) who, in 1933, crossed as the "first white person" Arabia from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea (*DBE* 4: 560), to the reports on daily life in specific locations in the Middle East by writers who worked and lived there.

It was only in the twentieth century that writers who specialized in writing on colonial issues proper rose to prominence.[16] The genre appears to have been a function of the growing importance of (literary) journalism (Jäger 1991: 476–81. Schütz and Wegmann 1989: 388–91). In particular until the First World War, the survey finds a growing number of writers who advocated the positions of the German government in its foreign policy in the Middle East, such as Paul Rohrbach on the German bid for the construction of the railway line to Baghdad (1903); Max Hübner, Paul Mohr, and Hermann Singer on the Moroccan crises in 1905/1911, or B. Lawrence von Mackay on German interests in the Ottoman empire on the eve of the war. An exception to this pattern was Ernst Max Roloff (1865–1935), a high-school director who had also served as director of the German high school in Cairo, but lost his position at the Protestant institution when he converted to Catholicism. He found employment at various publishing projects of the Catholic Church. At that time he took up writing on the Middle East as what appears to have been the "Catholic" expert, who was not really in opposition to the government, but less committed to the topical issues of its foreign policy (*DBE* 8: 377). During the Weimar Republic, the print media were characterized by greater diversity (Schütz and Wegmann 1989: 388–91), which also allowed a writer like Hans Kohn (1891–1971) to rise to prominence, who made his entry to the field while he was head of the PR department of the Keren HaYesod (the main institution for funding the activities of the Zionist Organization in Palestine) in London and Jerusalem (*DBE* 6: 6).

One might expect three groups of writers to be more numerously represented among the prolific writers on the Middle East, namely missionaries, diplomats, and historians. Both Fück and Said have observed that the main part of the pre-nineteenth century writings on the Orient/Middle East concentrated on the Christian struggle against Islam. Though Oriental studies broke with that tradition, at least according to Fück, one might have expected that Christian anti-Islamic writing would account for a considerable part of the publications by writers who were not scholars in the field. That seems not to have been the case. Though quite a number of prominent writers on Palestine had come to the country within missionary framework, most of their writings did not deal with missionary issues proper, but were "eyewitness" accounts, based on the expertise of "having been there." Some, but not all of the writings by Ludwig Schneller were an exception.

That means that among the 231 prolific writers on the Middle East there were only two—Gottfried Simon and Samuel Marinus Zwemer—who really focused on missionary issues proper. This may not come too much as a surprise, if one considers that Catholic mission in practical terms got organized only in the nineteenth

century. Moreover, the literature that accompanied these activities can be expected to have been in Latin, because all professional clergy could be expected to know that language. Protestant missionary work started early, but its center was in Britain. In the nineteenth century, the British missionary movement influenced trends within the German Pietist revival movement that joined British projects, as the examples from Palestine illustrate (Goren 2003). Thus within that context, the language of publications can be expected to have been English. It was only when German colonial aspirations developed in rivalry to British colonial projects that a need arose for an independent German Protestant missionary movement, including its own literature.

Although Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) and Alfred von Kremer (1828–89) are famous examples, the diplomat *cum* scholar/writer was a fairly rare phenomenon among the eminent writers on the Middle East, most of whom had embarked on their careers by the mid-nineteenth century.[17] The reason may be the professionalization of the staff of the diplomatic service, which meant in German states that the candidates studied and graduated in law. When the need for additional training, especially language skills became apparent, the *SOS* was founded in Berlin (1887). Thus the jurists' monopoly over the diplomatic serviced was effectively upheld. From this background, only two diplomats became prominent writers in the 1920s and 1930s: Gotthart Jäschke and Ernst Klingmüller.

Johansen argues that historians, rather than orientalists, determined the German hegemonic discourse on the Orient (Johansen 1990: 79–83). If that observation is correct, historians did not do it by writing specifically about the Middle East. None of the members of the discipline of history investigated by W. Weber (for the list see Weber 1984: 597–613) appears among the eminent writers on the Middle East. This confirms the finding of the survey according to subjects which has shown that the frequency of the writings on history suggests that these writings were not produced within an institutional setting. Apart from a few writers who had studied also history,[18] only two professional historians can be found: Johann Nepomuk Sepp (1816–1909) who became a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) in history at the university of Munich and then went into politics; his actual writings on the Middle East concerned Palestine and sprang from his interest in theology as well as in German settlers, Templars (*DBE* 9: 290; Babinger 1957; Goren 2003: 147–66); and Albrecht Wirth (1866–1936) who was a lecturer in world history (not part of the mainstream of German historiography) at the polytechnic in Munich (*DBE* 10: 538).

There were two additional minor types of prolific writers. One is represented by two writers belonging to the social circle around the local Muslim community, comprising mostly foreign students, in Berlin, and its journal, *Moslemische Revue*, published between 1924 and 1940 and intended to explain Muslim culture to the German public.[19] To the other belonged Western writers whose works were published in German translation, especially in the earlier parts of the nineteenth century.[20] The reason for their eminence may in part be a financial matter. Copyright protection for German texts was regulated for the first time in 1837 imposing also a 30-year protection on the rights to texts by authors who had died by that year.

Since 1867 these texts could be published by anybody who wanted to, without the need to pay for the copyright. Thus 1867 became the *Klassikerjahr*, a publication boom for the so-called classics of German literature. However, the copyright regulations did not apply to non-German texts/authors. They could be published free of all copyright charges until the first international copyright agreement concluded at Bern in 1886 (Ungern-Sternberg 1987: 393–95).

The brief review of the prolific writers, who were not scholars in Middle East studies, does not give any indication that any single hegemonic notion of the Middle East existed. Among the various and diverse perspectives on the Middle East, considerable expertise or authority seems to have been ascribed to "having been there," implying by its very nature a concern for contemporary society, which has also been observed in the survey according to subjects. Thus there is no indication that the widely noted lack of concern for contemporary society in Middle East studies could be ascribed to some notion of the Middle East held in German culture in general. In light of these findings, I shall try to find the explanation in the context of Oriental studies as a professional career at the university.

For that purpose, my investigation below will shift the focus from category C to the categories A and B (core and peripheral scholars in Middle East studies). A survey of their biographical data (to which a number of other scholars from Oriental studies, not specializing in Middle East studies, were added for comparison), enabled me to establish the sequence of university appointments at each university in the German system (Appendix 3). A reading of both, the biographies and the appointments, against the background of the training and career paths of scholars in the humanities at the time, in the context of the general developments at the faculties of philosophy, provide the starting point for the investigation of the history of Middle East studies within the discipline of Oriental studies.

4 The establishment of modern Oriental studies

This chapter will investigate the initial stage, the establishment of the discipline of Oriental studies at the faculties of philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century. A central concern is the attempt to discern the reasons why the discipline was established and what were the implications for the constitution of the work within it. Since we are today quite accustomed to asking how we should study the Middle East (e.g., Mitchell 2003, Lockman 2004), one might be tempted to expect that around 1800 somebody raised the question of how the Orient should be studied, and that the answer to that question provided the blueprint for the establishment of the discipline at universities.[1] My findings suggest that the question was not raised as such and that the establishment of the discipline was hardly a function of any immediate concern with the Orient. More specifically, I aim to show that the main motivation for studying Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy can be found in the conceptual developments of (classical) philology and theology, both of which underwent major transformation at the time.

Symptoms of change

The account should begin with a clarification. Oriental languages had been taught at German universities well before the first half of the nineteenth century. For many centuries, Oriental languages were studied and taught as an auxiliary science to theology. These chairs for Oriental languages were usually located at the faculty of theology or at that of philosophy. In the latter case, they were conceived as auxiliary to theology (*ancilla theologiae*), which meant also that appointments were (mainly) determined by the faculty of theology.[2] Given the requirements of Biblical studies, Hebrew stood at the center of the attention as *sacra philologia*, while Arabic tended to be seen as a Hebrew dialect (e.g., Segert and Beránek 1967; Heine 1974: 10–13; Rotter 1974b: 9–10). Johann Fück has traced the European traditions of Arabic studies throughout the centuries (Fück 1955). Until the eighteenth century, these traditions are shown to have usually been part of a "Christian agenda": facing and fighting Islam, the rival religion. In the rare instances where this was not the case, individual scholars remained outside the establishment, and their efforts were without immediate consequences.

That state of affairs changed only by the end of the eighteenth century and especially at the beginning of the nineteenth century : Sir William Jones (1746–94) and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (since 1784) giving inspiration to the rise of Indian studies (Fück 1955: 129–35); the British East India Company's language college of Fort William in Calcutta (1800–854) teaching mainly Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali (Fück 1955: 135–40); the *École des jeunes de langue*, which had originally been established in 1700 in order to train interpreters for missionary as well as diplomatic/consular tasks,[3] but was a failure until the major reorganization in 1797 (Fück 1955: 127–28); and the establishment of the *École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* (1795) where Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) was appointed to teach Arabic (Fück 1955: 140–52).

Though they differ with regard to the evaluation of the repercussions, both Fück and Edward Said agree that Sacy should be credited with the actual transition to modern scholarly studies of Arabic (Said 1978:122–30). In Fück's view, Sacy's major achievement lies in the complete detachment of Arabic studies from theology and the introduction of a novel definition of the study of Oriental languages. Sacy extended the field beyond the languages of the Middle East that were traditionally studied, by including also those of the Indian subcontinent and even China. In addition, Sacy focused on classical Arabic, while neglecting the contemporary, spoken languages, despite French economic and political interests at the time. Moreover, he introduced teaching devices which became the standard gateway to the study of Arabic for almost a century, namely his *Chrestomathie arabe* (1806), meant to remedy the lack of Arabic texts in sufficient numbers of copies for classroom use; his *Grammaire arabe* (1810), combining the concept of the *grammaire générale* with the Arab tradition of grammar treatise; and his *Anthologie grammaticale* (1829), a supplement to the *Chrestomathie*.

Last, but not least, Sacy attracted numerous students, both from within France and from abroad (Fück 1955: 156–57). These also included scholars who sought work at German universities.[4] For example, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–88) studied theology and classical and Oriental languages at Leipzig. After graduation (Ph.D.), he went to study Arabic, Persian, and Turkish with Sacy in Paris (1825–28). Since 1828 he worked as high-school teacher in Leipzig and Dresden. Fleischer was appointed to a chair of Oriental languages at Leipzig in 1835 (*ADB* 48: 584–94; *DBE* 3: 341; *NDB* 5: 231–32; Thorbecke 1888; Fück 1955: 157, 170–72, 246; Paret 1968: 8; Preissler 1995: 245–50, 254; Goren 2003: 174–75; Ellinger 2006: 478–79). While Fleischer made his career in Saxony, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag (1788–1861) exemplifies a university career in Prussia. He studied theology and philology at Göttingen. After graduation (Ph.D.), he became army chaplain in the Prussian army and thus came to Paris in 1815. There he studied Arabic, Persian, and Turkish with Sacy. In 1819, Freytag was appointed to the chair of Oriental languages at Bonn (established in 1818) (*DBE* 3: 439; *NDB* 5: 425; Fück 1955: 157, 160, 166, 173). In Bavaria, Marcus Müller (1809–74) studied classical philology at Munich. He graduated (Ph.D.) in 1829 and took the high-school teacher exam in 1830. He went to study with Sacy in Paris, 1833–38. Upon his return to Munich, it took him some time to find employment.

In 1840 he was appointed *extraordinarius* of non-Biblical Oriental languages at Munich and, at the same time, worked as Hebrew teacher at a high school; he was promoted to a chair in 1847 (*DBE* 7: 276; Fück 1955: 173; Babinger 1957: 246–53).

The trend to study with Sacy in Paris was part of the transition to the modern academic tradition in Oriental studies which is thought to have commenced with the establishment of chairs for Oriental languages within faculties of philosophy, redefined as proper faculties geared towards the training of high school teachers. The redefinition transformed also existing chairs into new ones, in so far as the faculty of philosophy, rather than that of theology, had the decisive voice on issues of appointments. The altered institutional setting allowed broadening of the spectrum of languages beyond the requirements of Biblical studies and with regard to Middle Eastern languages, Arabic became the focus of attention, while Hebrew was sidelined.

The list of such new chairs established during the first half of the nineteenth century is quite impressive (see Appendix 3). At sixteen universities,[5] twenty-six new chairs for Oriental languages were established. In addition, positions for *extraordinarii*, often preceding the establishment of chairs,[6] signaled the potential for further expansion. At Göttingen and Kiel, existing chairs were redefined. Oriental languages and Old Testament studies had been a widely used combination for chairs serving the faculty of theology (e.g., Marburg, Münster, and Zurich). At Göttingen and Kiel, Oriental languages in that combination were redefined to extend also to non-Biblical languages, including Sanskrit.[7] Though not chronologically, but with regard to size, the university of Berlin took the lead by establishing three chairs: Middle East languages, Sanskrit and Altaic, and two additional *extraordinarii*, plus one chair in Egyptology. Also Bonn, Breslau, Halle, and Leipzig established two chairs each, one for Middle East languages and one for Sanskrit/Indian languages. Göttingen established also a second chair, when Heinrich Ewald (1803–75) returned from Tübingen in 1848. Munich had two chairs: one for non-Biblical Oriental languages, the other for Chinese and Armenian studies.

These variations in the institutional setting suggest that the study of Oriental languages had more than one focus at the time. With regard to the languages of the Middle East, the range extended from a framework of Biblical studies to a distinctly philological one. Since these languages had been part of the academic tradition, the varying institutional settings might appear as a symptom of the transition. But also the study of Sanskrit, a newly introduced language, was institutionalized in more than one form. Here the range extended from the philological study of Sanskrit as one of the Oriental languages to the framework of comparative linguistics, which included languages other than Oriental ones.[8] The survey of appointments (Appendix 3) also shows that the appointees were not all students of Sacy. Especially for Sanskrit, a study trip to London was more important than one to Paris. Even with regard to Middle Eastern languages, theologians such as Ewald, who did not study in Paris, also adopted a philological approach.

Thus, when chairs for the study of Oriental languages were established at the faculties of philosophy at German universities, the field appears to have consisted of different trends. Neither institutionally nor biographically for the individual scholars can one discern generally applicable criteria for separating one trend from another. It is not even obvious how these different trends were interrelated. Altogether, forty scholars taught Oriental languages at German universities during the first half of the nineteenth century. Institutionally, four were probably scholars of the traditional field,[9] and two seem to have been idiosyncratic appointments made at Berlin, namely those of Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–84) as *ordinarius* of Egyptology and of Wilhelm Schott (1802–89) as *ordinarius* of Oriental languages specializing in Altaic, Tatar and Finnish studies (*DBE* 9: 122). Thus, there were twenty four *ordinarii* of the modern discipline, six (or seven) *extraordinarii*,[10] and three lecturers. Though not comprising all German universities until the mid-century, this was quite a considerable wave of change.

The development appears even more remarkable within the context of the faculty of philosophy at the time. Marita Baumgarten's study found a basic set of five chairs (*Grundausstattung*) at the faculties of philosophy at German universities during the early decades of the nineteenth century, namely philosophy, classical philology, Oriental languages, history, and mathematics (Baumgarten 1997: 57–58, 80–87, 277–78, Table 3, 282–83, Table 4).[11] This means Oriental languages held a rather prominent position, alongside classical philology and history (one chair each), while there was not necessarily any chair for German studies, for example. This calls for an explanation. Why did seventeen German universities decide to establish one or more paid positions in the study of Oriental languages? Since these new chairs required financial resources, there is also no doubt that they could only be established with government backing, if not by government initiative. Why did various rulers support or even initiate the development?

In the literature, only Baber Johansen addresses these questions explicitly and suggests a "political" motive:

> It is true that at the beginning of the nineteenth century various German principalities founded chairs for Oriental studies and sent students to Paris in order to study Oriental languages and culture with Silvestre de Sacy. The principalities evidently intended to produce expert knowledge on the Orient at their universities. This was a political decision and not an initiative stemming from the field of Oriental studies. And whether the princes got what they wanted is an altogether different matter.
>
> (Johansen 1990: 75)

Since Johansen does not deny that German Orientalists produced expert knowledge in the course of the nineteenth century, the phrase "expert knowledge on the Orient" has to be taken to refer to knowledge on the contemporary Orient. His stress on the political motivation suggests the existence of colonial aspirations. In other words, German rulers are thought to have established chairs for Oriental languages in order to produce the knowledge needed for the realization of these

aspirations. Their projects turned out to be failures with regard to the production of pertinent knowledge. The heads of state did not get what they wanted. Oriental studies in the modern sense were introduced to the German university system by mistake, so to speak. Nice as the story may be, there is unfortunately little evidence to back it up.

Johansen refers to a passage in Fück's book (1955: 156–57), enumerating Sacy's German students, as his source (Johansen 1990: 119 n. 23). Not all scholars appointed to the new chairs were Sacy's students,[12] and from among those on the long list of Sacy's German students, only Franz Bopp, Othmar Frank, Friedrich Steudel (after his return, he became a professor of theology at Tübingen), Julius Mohl (had been sent by the government of Württemberg to study in Paris, but he did not return and sought employment in France instead), and Johann August Vullers were sent to study on government grants (Fück 1955: 156). Moreover, even if one assumes that the members of ruling circles were not the most knowledgeable of all people, suggesting that the Bavarian government sent Bopp and Frank to study Sanskrit in order to obtain some practical knowledge about the contemporary Orient would stretch that assumption a bit too far.

Furthermore, there is little evidence that German states at the time had any colonial aspirations, or even political interest in the Orient. Johansen does not provide any. As Ludmila Hanisch's outline of the development of German official contacts with the Middle East shows (2003: 29–32), Prussia concluded its first treaty with the Ottoman Empire in 1761 which led to the establishment of a Prussian consulate in Istanbul. That might serve as a (partial) explanation, if the phenomenon in question would have been an interest in Ottoman Turkish, rather than classical Arabic and Sanskrit. Hanisch's outline as well as Haim Goren's survey of German interests in Palestine and the surrounding region shows that a slight increase in official Prussian interest and the first church projects in the Middle East only occurred since the 1840s (2003: 178–80).

Goren specifically states that the first Prussian ambassador to the Ottoman capital, Count Hans Karl Albert von Königsberg (1799–1876), called for a policy change in 1841: trained German nationals with appropriate language skills should be posted to the consular service in the region, replacing the Christian locals who had been employed for that purpose since the beginning of the nineteenth century (Goren 2003: 179). Whether or not such a policy change within the foreign minstry would have provided sufficient grounds to embark on the rather expensive project of establishing chairs for Oriental studies can remain an open question. 1841 is too late to account for the new chairs at the Prussian universities and certainly does not explain the changes at the universities of such other German states as Bavaria and Saxony.

At that time, only the Austrian empire can be shown to have considerable political interests in the Middle East, especially the Ottoman Empire, which might warrant a concern for pertinent knowledge and personnel. In Vienna, however, the solution was sought outside the university. The *Orientalische Akademie* (Oriental academy) had been established already in 1754 (Fück 1955: 128–29). Training focused more on etiquette than on the knowledge of Oriental languages and culture. The

results in terms of the graduates' qualifications were rather disappointing—with Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) being the shining exception. Nonetheless, the Austrian foreign ministry did not change its strategy. The Oriental academy remained the training institution for future members of the service.

In light of Austrian interests in the Middle East, it is particularly striking that the development at the University of Vienna contradicts Johansen's assumption. The introduction of the modern version of Oriental studies occurred comparatively late. Only in 1845, Anton Boller (1811–69) became lecturer for Sanskrit, and five years later he was promoted to *extraordinarius*. A chair for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics was established in 1855 (*DBE* 2: 9). In 1862, Adolf Wahrmund (1827–1913) began teaching as lecturer for Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but he was not promoted to *extraordinarius*. Unable to progress in a university career, Wahrmund took up teaching Arabic at the Oriental academy, and became its director (1885–97),[13] a position for which he received the title of a professor (*DBE* 10: 294). At the university, Friedrich Müller (1834–98) became *extraordinarius* for Oriental languages in 1866, and succeeded Boller as *ordinarius* for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics in 1869 (*DBE* 7: 257; *NDB* 18: 378–79). In the same year Eduard Sachau (1845–1930) obtained an appointment as *extraordinarius*, and in 1871 as *ordinarius* for Semitic languages (*DBE* 8: 485; Fück 1955: 234–36; Hanisch 2003: 204; Ellinger 2006: 521). At Vienna, modern studies of the Oriental languages that might have been of greatest interest from a foreign-policy point of view were late to be established. They were even the last ones in this line to become institutionalized in the form of a chair at the university.

To conclude, though it cannot be known what various German rulers aspired to in their dreams in the early nineteenth century, the cases of manifest foreign/colonial interests in the Middle East (primarily the Austrian empire, and to a lesser degree, Prussia) cannot be related to university reform. The developments in the Habsburg empire show that the knowledge and training required for such purposes were sought to be secured in institutional arrangements outside the university. Much less engaged in the region than Austria, Prussia found the personnel needed by hiring bilingual locals. The tendency to replace these by qualified German nationals since the 1840s became possible due to the existence of the new discipline of Oriental studies, but cannot account for its emergence. One may add that when Prussian/German foreign policy interest outside Europe grew in earnest in the 1880s, the government opted for an institutional solution, similar to the Austrian one,[14] by establishing a training college (*SOS*) in 1887 outside the university, although the *ordinarius* for Oriental languages at university of Berlin was its director (Johansen 1990: 87; Hanisch 2003: 40–45). Hence, one cannot assume that the new chairs for modern Oriental studies were established with the backing or on initiative of the respective governments, in pursuit of colonial interests. Concrete evidence would have to prove the colonial motivation. For lack of such evidence, we are left with a phenomenon, namely the wave of new chairs in the first half of the nineteenth century, which still requires an explanation.

A partial exception may be found at Jena, where the ruler's interest not in the Orient, but in something Oriental seems to have triggered a (temporary) transition.

In 1802, the duke of Saxe-Gotha and Altenstein funded an expedition to the Middle East by the physician and naturalist Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1778–1811), which included the task to buy Middle Eastern manuscripts (Fück 1955: 162). The acquisitions inaugurated the Oriental collection at the Gotha library, which became the largest collection held at German libraries during the nineteenth century (Mangold 2004: 43–44). In 1816, Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten (1792–1860), the first known German student of Sacy, was appointed to the chair of Oriental languages with the explicit explanation that the scholar required for the position had to be able to review the newly acquired treasures at the Gotha library (Mangold 2004: 54–55), although the appointment was certainly also due to the backing by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), who was the minister of education at the time (Mangold 2004: 123–27). When Kosegarten left Jena for a chair at the Prussian university in Greifswald in 1824, the university of Jena shifted the emphasis back to the requirements of theology when considering the qualifications of his successor (Mangold 2004: 62). With the appointments of Hermann Brockhaus (1806–77), specializing in Indian studies (Stache-Rosen 1990: 28–29), and Johann Gustav Stickel (1805–96), one of Sacy's students who specialized in numismatics (*ADB* 54: 519–22; Fück 1955: 157; Preissler 1995: 302), Oriental studies turned again away from theology in the late 1830s. Since the manuscript collection at Gotha was quite exceptional at the time, the dynamics of change as they occurred at Jena do not explain the developments at other German universities.

In Fück's account, Sacy is seen as a product of the enlightenment. The French revolution is thought to have facilitated the liberation of Oriental studies from theology. By contrast, theology remained preeminent at German universities. According to Fück, the enlightenment's new approach to the Orient was, therefore, not pursued in university circles but rather among members of the educated bourgeoisie. Their most prominent representative was Hammer-Purgstall, who published the first "non-theological" journal specializing in the Orient in a German-speaking country: *Fundgruben des Orients* (1809–18) (Fück 1955: 158–59). Fück's discussion then moves to Freytag who had studied with Sacy and became *ordinarius* for Oriental languages at Bonn (1955: 166); Ewald, professor for theology (Old Testament) and (redefined) Oriental languages at Göttingen (1955: 167), Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866), whom Fück sees as the most prominent figure in a romanticist sideline in German Oriental studies (1955: 167–68), Edward William Lane (1801–76), representing British scholarship unrelated to any university (1955: 168), and Fleischer, Sacy's student who became *ordinarius* for Oriental languages at Leipzig (1955: 170–74). Apart from Lane, these scholars were all professors at German universities, pursuing approaches to Oriental languages which were not primarily oriented towards theology. Given that until Freytag's appointment in 1819, nothing resembling the French revolution had occurred in Prussia, it remains unclear how Oriental studies at Bonn were liberated from theology. Fück does not provide any explanation, nor does Mangold, who adopts his narrative (Mangold 2004: 29–77).

Drawing on Fück's account for his own rendering of the history of the field, Rudi Paret seems to have noticed the deficiency. After outlining interests in Oriental topics within German literary circles of the enlightenment and romanticism (1968: 5–6), he moves to discuss Oriental studies as an academic discipline:

> As has been said before the development of Oriental studies was not without its vicissitudes. Its institution as a discipline only really came about when people were ready to put aside all their prejudiced opinions and preconceived ideas of the Oriental world, to concede it an absolute value of its own and try to convey the most objective picture possible. It is not easy to determine precisely when this change took place. If we place it simply in the middle of the nineteenth century this simply means that it was at this time that the scientific character of Oriental studies as we know them today became more clearly definable. But the desire to assess objectively the state of affairs could be shown to have existed much earlier.
>
> (Paret 1968: 7)

Then Paret presents a lineage running from Sacy, via Freytag and Gustav Flügel (1802–70) to Fleischer (1968: 7–8). By stressing the difficulty in dating the beginning of the modern tradition of Oriental studies, Paret avoids having to address the question why it occurred. By mid-century it was simply there, and Paret can sketch its further development.

Fück, Paret, and Johansen discuss interest in Oriental topics within various literary circles of the enlightenment and romanticism. But none of them argues that these affected in any immediate way the development at German universities. By contrast, Hanisch explains the emergence of the modern discipline of Oriental studies as a direct function of the enlightenment: the enlightenment is thought to have liberated Orient studies from theological concerns, which led to the discipline's gradual relocation to the faculty of philosophy (2003: 45). Hanisch bases her statement on the example of Fleischer's chair at Leipzig, which was relocated to the faculty of philosophy in 1840 (2003: 45 n. 43). Her argument seems problematic on two levels, namely with regard to her concept of causality and to her evidence.

Concerning the latter, Mangold points out that the chair of Oriental languages at Leipzig was always at the faculty of philosophy and that the idea of a relocation is due to a mistake made by August Müller in his obituary on Fleischer in 1889, which has been widely repeated in the literature (2004: 151–54, esp. 152 n. 794). However, the matter may be more complex than Mangold's presentation suggests. In 1835, the faculty of theology submitted the initial formal proposal for Fleischer's appointment, to the ministry of education (Mangold 2004: 153 n. 798). The faculty of philosophy submitted their position regarding the proposal at a later stage (Mangold 2004: 152 n. 796). This would indicate that at that point in time, the chair was conceived as an auxiliary position related to the faculty of theology. This reading is supported by the fact that Fleischer taught also Hebrew and Biblical exegesis. Fleischer stopped teaching these theology-related courses in 1840 (Mangold 2004: 153 n. 801). In other words, in 1840, the chair ceased fulfilling the auxiliary function for theology, and its primary purpose had to be

redefined within the faculty of philosophy. In this sense, August Müller does not seem to have been mistaken when stating that the chair moved from the faculty of theology to that of philosophy.[15]

Even if Hanisch's view is correct, one may wonder whether the change can actually be explained by the university of Leipzig being struck by enlightenment, 36 years after Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) died. The "delay" in time suggests that whatever enlightenment's contribution to the development may have been, the impact was a mediated, rather than a direct one, especially since it seems questionable whether the university realized enlightenment programs as such. A major enlightenment concern, namely pedagogy, was virtually excluded from all institutionalized education throughout the nineteenth century (Jäger and Tenorth 1987). Moreover, enlightenment thinkers championed professional training rather than *Bildung*,[16] a term that may be rendered as "self-cultivation" (Bruford 1975), stressing its supposedly non-utilitarian orientation (Jeismann 1987a: 19–21; Marchand 1996: 25–26). The discrepancy in the ideological packaging is not necessarily to be taken at face value, but that does not imply its irrelevancy. Since the organization of universities was geared towards professional training, and most students studied in order to obtain professional qualifications, the difference to the concepts of education as developed by thinkers of the enlightenment may have been minor on a practical level. But that state of affairs can more easily be attributed to students having to make a living and to states interested in civil servants and in strengthening their control over societies, than any unmediated realization of enlightenment.

Mangold suggests seeing the romanticist movement as a mediating stage within which Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) developed his concept of the modern university. The implementation of that concept is thought to have facilitated the transition to a novel concept of Oriental studies (2004: 52–59). Her argument is very tentative. Based on the novel concept, the reorganization of the university is seen to have created a potential for a range of Oriental studies not oriented towards theology (2004: 59). Thus it does not explain why only the same specific parts of that potential were realized throughout the German university system, which was a decentralized one. Also timing remains an open question. Why was the study of Oriental languages considered more urgent than, for example, studying modern European languages, especially German? Moreover, her evidence only refers to Humboldt's concept as part of the discourse. However, her argument would have required showing that the concept was actually implemented at any specific time and place.

As discussed in Chapter 2, one may doubt whether the reorganization of the universities in the first half of the nineteenth century can actually be understood as implementation of Humboldt's concept. Much rather, the history of universities (and education) can be seen in relation to processes of centralization in Prussia which began as a reform of the army and bureaucracy and then extended to the (high-)school system. The reforms concerning the professional qualifications of high-school teachers entailed a basic remolding of the faculty of philosophy. It became a proper faculty alongside theology, medicine, and law, and was geared

towards the training of high-school teachers with a heavy emphasis on classical philology. Another central factor in the development was the fierce competition among all German universities over students, which facilitated the spread of the reforms throughout the system. Since the establishment of new chairs in Oriental languages occurred during the initial stage of the restructuring of the faculties of philosophy, I suggest seeing the establishment of these new chairs as part of the restructuring process. But Oriental languages were not usually taught at high schools, apart from Hebrew which was an optional subject (Jeismann 1987c: 172, Tables 1–2). What was the connection between subjects taught at high schools and Oriental languages?

Classical philology and Sanskrit

Said's account suggests a connection between Oriental studies and what he terms new philology which emerged between the 1780s and the mid-1830s (1978: 130–34). New philology's novelty is seen in its concept of history that differed from the one available in the Christian tradition, and its secular approach to languages, "which held language to be an entirely human phenomenon. And this view became current once it was discovered empirically that the so-called sacred languages (Hebrew, primarily) were neither of primordial antiquity nor of divine provenance" (1978: 135). The empirical discovery in question provided "the new knowledge of how Sanskrit outdated Hebrew" (1978: 135–36). New philology was distinguished by the study of "comparative grammar, the reclassification of languages into families and the final rejection of the divine origins of languages" (1978: 135). In short, the discovery of an Oriental language, namely Sanskrit, triggered philology's liberation from theology (Said 1978: 134, 138). Once the new philology had emerged, it became the device by means of which Oriental philologists "created" the Orient (Said 1978: 139–40; 1983).

Said's line of argument raises quite a number of questions, the most obvious being why he discusses the emergence of "new philology" only in relation to Ernest Renan (1823–92), whereas Sacy is—by placement—presented as preceding that development rather than being part of it (Said 1978: 130; cf. Fück 1955: 145–46), and why Renan should be seen as link in a lineage leading from Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) to Friedrich Nietzsche (1864–1900) (Said 1978: 132; cf. Pflug 1983). For the present purpose, however, it suffices to focus on the questions whether the discovery of Sanskrit triggered the emergence of new philology as Said defines it, and whether new philology thus defined, led to the introduction of the modern tradition of Oriental studies at German universities. Since Said dates the emergence of new philology between the 1780s and the mid-1830s, Sanskrit should have been discovered at about 1780. Does the evidence support the thesis?

By that time, Sanskrit had already been known to Europeans, though probably not very widely. A German missionary, Heinrich Roth (1620–68), was the first European to write a Sanskrit grammar, and two other Catholic missionaries published further Sanskrit grammars in the course of the eighteenth century

(Stache-Rosen 1990: 255). It was only in 1785 that Charles Wilkins (1749?–1836), a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (established in 1784), published the first translation of a Sanskrit text (*Bhagavadgita*). But the main impetus came from William Jones, who suggested a "genealogical" relationship between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin in 1786 (Lüders 1935: 69). In 1792, Jones published the first Sanskrit text, and even earlier, in1789, he published a translation to English of a Sanskrit drama (*Shakuntala* by Kalidasa), which was then translated to German (Fück 1955: 135). The German translation is seen to have made a major impact on the literary circles, especially on Goethe and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), which in turn stirred an interest in Sanskrit studies: August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Friedrich Schlegel, Franz Bopp, and Wilhelm von Humboldt (Stache-Rosen 1990).

Thus Said's argument has to be challenged on grounds of chronology. New philology is thought to have commenced with Wolf (Marchand 1996: 16–24), but Sanskrit was discovered too late in order to provide an explanation for Wolf's novel approach. Moreover, the Sanskrit text, the translation of which attracted so much attention among German literary circles, had been written in the fifth century. Though dating may be problematic, there is no indication that the first texts made available could pose a challenge to the chronological primacy of Hebrew as such. What they may have called into question, however, was the "order of things," namely the relation of languages and cultures to each other. Only in a later stage could the study of Sanskrit lead to the realization that Hebrew cannot be considered the "original" language of mankind. This finding may well have been of central importance for explaining Renan's views in the mid-nineteenth century, especially in light of the fact that he abandoned priesthood. In this sense, Said's placing of new philology in his discussion on Renan is appropriate.

But if the discovery of Sanskrit's antiquity cannot be shown to have triggered the new trend in philology, Said's definition of new philology is called into question. For Renan himself, it may be correct that "being a philologist meant the severance of any and all connections with the old Christian god" (Said 1978: 138), but considering this view as representative for all or most of the nineteenth-century philologists would seem a rather daring suggestion. Certainly with regard to the German context, it is most unlikely that new philology's *raison d'être* was the liberation from religion and theology, not least due to the fact that it was established at universities where employment was more often than not depended on membership in the "right" church throughout the nineteenth century and for a considerable part of the twentieth century.[17]

Moreover, the strategy to rid oneself of one's Christian worldview by means of philology, creating a Semitic Orient against which a new anti-Semitic identity can be formulated, may well be an option, but it is surely not the only setting in which an approach "which held language to be an entirely human phenomenon" is conceivable. At the time new philology is thought to have emerged, Kant had just removed the question, whether or not God exists by showing that pure reason cannot answer it (*Critik der reinen Vernunft*, 1781), while retaining "God" and "eternal life" as categorical imperatives of practical reason (*Critik der praktischen Vernunft*, 1788). Though one can certainly not expect that everybody agreed with, or even read, Kant's argument, the fact that it was published by a professor at a Prussian university (Königsberg) illustrates that, in conceptual terms, acknowledged fields of inquiry outside a theological framework were available at the time, without necessarily entailing an assault on theology and religion.

As has been shown, the study of Oriental languages was relocated from the faculty of theology to that of philosophy, opening the option of studying these languages outside a theological framework. Even classical philology, traditionally taught at the faculty of philosophy, seems to have been within the orbit of theology for most of the eighteenth century, as is illustrated by the often recounted story about Wolf, who enrolled as student of philology at the faculty of philosophy in 1777, against the explicit advice of his teacher Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812). On the basis of past experience, Heyne could argue that a scholarly qualification limited to philology was not sufficient to ensure a livelihood and that theology was the called-for addition (Pfeiffer 1976: 173–74).[18] That state of affairs changed in the course of Wolf's career. Due to the reform in the training of high-school teachers, philology began its rise to the leading discipline of the humanities,[19] and it was in classical philology that the first institutes (*Seminare*) were established at universities: Berlin (1810/11), Königsberg (1810/14), Breslau (1812), Bonn (1819), and Greifswald (1822) (Turner 1983: 463).

The institutional setting allowed philology to pursue languages studies outside a theological framework. In this more limited sense, Said's characterization is correct. But if philology cannot be shown to have constituted itself against Christian theology and religion, Said's rendering does not provide any explanation of how new philology was conceptualized. Since classical philology owed its rising importance to the reform of the training of high-school teachers, whereas Oriental philology was not a school subject, any possible connection between both disciplines would have to be found in the conception of the former. Although classical philology was a traditional discipline it underwent major transformation since the second half of the eighteenth century. Therefore it may appropriately be called new philology. In addition to the impact of the school reform, philology's transformation was related to several more general developments.

Humanism as sparked by the Renaissance related to both Roman and Greek cultures. Latin had stood at the center of attention, however, at least since the sixteenth century. Philology as a discipline was geared towards "text production" in the form of both *ars critica* which aimed at retrieving and editing Roman and Greek texts, and—more prominently—rhetoric which focused on composing academic texts "in proper Latin style." Latin was the academic *lingua franca*, the distinctive language of the academic community, which provided it with its common basis. Classical philologists held no monopoly. Every scholar had to know Latin. But their expertise was located at the very heart of academic work.

This state of affairs changed rapidly towards the end of the eighteenth century. Under massive public criticism (Turner 1983: 453–54), Latin lost its central function as academic *lingua franca*, when German became the language of publication. While in 1780 about a quarter of all legal and medical books had still been

published in Latin, their share shrank to some 5 percent by 1800 (Jäger 1987: 193). Even in classical studies, publishing strategies changed, probably more slowly than in other fields. Though Latin essays remained part of exams, and doctoral dissertations had to be written in Latin,[20] the language lost much of its practical importance to German (and French) (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991:256). Moreover, in the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, the concept of research took its place as the common distinctive feature of all academic pursuits at universities (Turner 1971, 1973, 1983).

While Latin lost its function as academic *lingua franca*, the concept of the classics also changed. In the middle of the eighteenth century, neo-humanism commenced which was based on the (re-)discovery of Greek culture. In literary circles, neo-humanism is usually seen to be represented by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68) and his widely read *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81), Herder, Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), Goethe, and Humboldt (Marchand 1996: 7–12). A complementary trend appears to have occurred in academic circles. In a preparatory stage, Johann Matthias Gesner (1691–1761) is credited with reviving the teaching of classical languages at schools. Gesner's lead was followed by Johann August Ernesti (1707–81). Christian Gottlob Heyne may be regarded as the academic counterpart to Winckelmann, in the sense that he definitively shifted the interest to classical Greek studies (Turner 1983: 460). On that basis, Wolf, who was *ordinarius* for classical languages at Halle (1783–1807) and appointed to the chair at Berlin in 1810, and with whom—according to Said—new philology commenced, published the first comprehensive presentation of the field's novel delineation: *Darstellung der Alterthums-Wissenschaft* (1807) (Flashar 1979: 21–31).

Thus, the circle of writers whose works were to become considered as German "classical" literature, strongly advocated the aesthetic and acculturating value of classical Greek language and culture. In a parallel and probably corresponding trend, philologists at the university also turned their attention to ancient, "classical" Greece. The new orientation was based on two conceptual shifts: one was the reevaluation of aesthetics endowing them with greater importance and, at the same time, limiting them to "the original" to the exclusion of all imitations (Marchand 1996: 7–16), thus challenging the very essence of rhetoric as a discipline and drawing attention to the distinction between Greek and Roman culture. The second shift consisted in the concept of the classical age. It was based on the introduction of time as a factor in language studies on two levels: one was an internal perspective allowing to discern different historical stages within a single language, thus giving prominence to the concept of the classical stage, as the stage of perfection, at which a language was thought to have realized its full potential, after a usually long process of development and before any "deterioration" sets in. Another level was an external perspective which located the classical age in a specific section on a time axis, which is conceived lineally, creating historical distance (Herzog 1983: 282–83).

These conceptual shifts can be seen as part of a third general development that introduced the historical approach. Reinhard Koselleck (1972) considers the

period between 1775 and 1825 as *Sattelzeit*, a term roughly corresponding to the concept of "axial age" as used by Marshall Hodgson (1974: 122). The period is thought to be characterized by temporalization, i.e., the emergence of a concept and an awareness of time that introduced a historical way of thinking to nearly all academic disciplines (Lepenies 1977: 64). In theology, for example, Ewald's teacher, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), was the first scholar to adopt a purely historical literary approach to Biblical writings. Following the new trend in theology, rather than taking an anti-theological stance, as one might expect in light of Said's account, Wolf is seen to have laid claim to a distinctly philological field of inquiry when presenting a historical investigation in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795). As Suzanne Marchand observes:

> But in combining the systematic approach to textual interpretation pioneered by the biblical scholar J. G. Eichhorn and contemporary thinking on the Homeric question, Wolf demonstrated the fundamental importance of the establishment of authentic texts to interpretations of their history, authorship, and meaning, and hence provided a justification for philological, as opposed to philosophical, expertise.
>
> (Marchand 1996: 20)

By its presentation in an exemplary and/or programmatic form for philology as a field rather than the specific concerns of Homeric studies,[21] the *Prolegomena* marks the beginning of historical philology (Lepenies 1977: 63).

At the same time Latin lost its position as *lingua franca* and philology shifted its attention to classical Greek, schools preparing for university studies transformed from *Lateinschulen* (schools teaching Latin) to *Gymnasia*. Due to the growing interest in studying Greek language and culture, classical Greek studies became also a subject at high schools since the later part of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Austria, where it was introduced in 1848 (Jäger 1887: 194–95). The novel perspectives had also immediate implications for Latin as a school subject. It changed the choice of texts to be studied. The new focus was on historical, philosophical and literary texts from the "classical" period, excluding not only texts on more mundane issues such as medicine, sciences, agriculture, and geography, but especially all "post-classical" Latin writings (Jäger 1887: 193). Thus when the *Gymnasium* became the obligatory high-school education in preparation for university studies, its syllabus strongly emphasized classical studies in a novel definition, comprising classical Latin and Greek. At the same time, two other novel linguistic subjects were introduced, namely German and French, which were often taught also by the classics teacher.

From the perspective of philology, the combined effects of the transition from Latin to German as a language for academic publication, the rise of neo-humanism, the emergence of a historical perspective, and the transformation of the *Lateinschule* to the *Gymnasium* entailed that a very coherent system transformed into a multi-focal one. The main task of the *Lateinschule* had been a clear one: proficiency in Latin, and classical philology's expertise had been the

basis of all academic pursuits. But then a much more complex situation evolved. The single focus of the school was replaced by a range of subjects, and even "the classics" split into two: the Greek and the Roman. Due to its role in the university training of high-school teachers, philology became the leading discipline in the humanities, while it lost much of its former relevancy for academia in general. At the same time, the disappearance of Latin as academic *lingua franca* entailed that rhetoric was deprived of much of its appeal and that philology had to re-conceptualize its expertise in a historicized academic universe, while a variety of new disciplines gradually entered the faculty of philosophy and the range of subjects taught at school was not congruent with classical philology.

During the last decades of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth centuries, a truly new philology was constituted in a process of negotiating a claim to an exclusive field of expertise against a variety of factors in a setting including both high schools and universities which were themselves undergoing major transformation. The methodological debates in philology at the time can, and to my mind should, be read as part of this negotiation process which should be seen as a relatively open one rather than a lineal development leading to any obvious foregone conclusion, in particular since the transition was by no means instant, although it was very rapid in terms of developments in academia. In the following, several stages in the negotiating process will be reviewed in order to evaluate their interrelation with other disciplines and in particular with Oriental studies.

As already mentioned, Humboldt and Wolf tried to establish a discipline of *Altertumswissenschaft*, i.e., studies of (classical) antiquity at Berlin. The concept of relating languages to all other contemporary cultural expressions could have turned the study of classical Greek and Latin into sub-disciplines of history. Other universities did not follow the example set at Berlin, and even there it did not last. Philology geared towards comparative linguistic studies became the dominant trend by 1830 (Herzog 1983: 282–84). From today's perspective, this may seem a missed opportunity that can even be narrated in a rather dramatic fashion.[22] But from a contemporary perspective, studies of antiquity as outlined in Wolf's *Darstellung der Alterthums-Wissenschaft* (1807) may have been much less attractive, especially if considered in practical terms.

First of all, the historical approach that gained preeminence since the end of the eighteenth century was not directly related to history as a discipline. There were hardly any professional historians among the major historical actors in Koselleck's account of the process of historicization since the mid-eighteenth century (Koselleck 1975). History as a discipline was just one among several disciplines transformed, and it was not even among the first ones. Before the transformation, history was usually pursued outside the university; at the university it was considered as a sub-discipline of *Moralphilosophie*. Wolfgang Weber surveys the establishment of history chairs in the modern tradition: in 1804 one such chair existed, in 1810 five, 1820 eight, 1830 sixteen and in 1840 twenty-five chairs throughout the German university system. Universities had often only one chair of history (Weber 1984: 48–49, 533–77).

Until the end of the eighteenth century, the concept of history writing used to be rather similar to that of *khabar* in the Arab, Middle Eastern tradition: writing history was limited to first-hand experience. With regard to the past, one could only read, ponder and rearrange existing reports (Engels 1975; Günther 1975). Edward Gibbon (1737–94) undertook the first project of writing history of an ancient period in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–89). The first history of this kind written in German appeared in the *Römische Geschichte*, vols. 1–2 (1811/1812), vol. 3 (1832) by Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831), a diplomat/scholar who also lectured at Berlin and later at Bonn. Therefore, the history of classical antiquity was not yet much of an option in disciplinary terms, when Wolf published his concept of the study of antiquity in 1807.

Moreover, given that archaeology had not yet taken up digging (Marchand 1996: 51–65), and that the first chair for geography, held by Carl Ritter (1779–1859), was established only in 1825 (*ADB* /28: 679–97; *DBE* 8: 326–27; Fück 1955: 197; Preissler 1995: 279; Goren 2003: 68–83), a historian of antiquity had practically only texts (and a few, random artifacts) at his disposal. In other words, philologists as philologists[23] could write the history of classical Rome and Greece based on the critical-historical approach to texts, and thus realize Wolf's "expansionist program" (a term coined by Turner 1983: 469–70), without having to subscribe to his concept of the study of antiquity. This option may have seemed particularly attractive, since the concept of antiquity was a problematic one. More specifically, it was too wide and became too narrow. It was meant to bracket classical Rome and Greece, but the ancient world (antiquity) was not inhabited by Greeks and Romans alone. Thus Wolf had to make an effort to exclude the other ancient peoples by establishing a qualitative scale of cultural development and arguing that only cultures on the highest level warrant investigation. Wolf succeeded very well in excluding "the Orientals"—in fact, too well: he knocked out the Romans as well (Marchand 1996: 20–21).

For the philhellenic trend in neo-humanism Wolf's concept was quite suitable, but for philology as a discipline, it would have been strategically unwise to adopt it. Although Latin lost is exclusive preeminent position, it had not vanished. As one among others, Latin was still a major school subject. Although academic publishing had shifted to German, the hitherto existing body of academic writings and the scholarly traditions built on them were in Latin. Proficiency in Latin remained a necessary prerequisite for all university studies and academic work. Moreover, the faculty of law, where most of the members of the higher civil service, including the ministry of education, received their training, was constituted on a founding myth: its "reception" of Roman law (Wieacker 1979). Last, but not least, their command of Latin was a major part of the expertise contemporary philologists had to offer and often the qualification for their employment.[24] Though the general development led towards a debasement of the value of that expertise, the prospective losers were not likely to hasten the process by subscribing to a concept that declared their own expertise worthless.

Thus the combined effect of the developments had created classical antiquity as a field of philological inquiry and at the same time split it into two, a gap that

neo-humanism was unable to bridge. The discovery of Sanskrit had a revolutionizing effect on this state of affairs, and in this sense it can be seen to have triggered the new philology of the nineteenth century. In 1808, a year after Wolf's conceptualization of the study of antiquity, Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) published a novel perspective on the issue based on the discovery of Sanskrit (1808). Following William Jones' observation concerning a "genealogical" relationship between Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek, Schlegel presented a first attempt in a field that later became known as comparative linguistics (*vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*), by trying to demonstrate the structural similarity of these three languages (and, more tentatively, also to German). Thus Schlegel was able to offer a solution to the lack of integration within classical philology. By adding Sanskrit to the assembly of ancient languages, a lineage comprising Sanskrit, Latin, and Greece became discernible, which brought the Greeks and Romans back into the same category, while excluding their "Oriental" neighbors. In addition, as a sort of bonus, Schlegel's study raised hopes that also German might somehow belong to that distinguished lineage.

Friedrich Schlegel himself did not pursue this issue much further. He became spokesman of the German anti-Napoleonic movement and then found employment at the Habsburg court in Vienna. There he converted to Catholicism and thus removed himself from the Prussian academic circles. But his thesis was followed up by Franz Bopp (1791–1867) who published his first study on the system of conjugation in Sanskrit in comparison to Greek, Latin, Persian, and German in 1816. Bopp taught Sanskrit to Friedrich Schlegel's brother, August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), who later held the first chair established in the field at a German university, namely at Bonn in 1818 (*DBE* 8: 659–60; Stache-Rosen 1990: 7–8; Kahle 1998: 98). Bopp went on a study trip to London funded by a grant from the Bavarian crown prince. Upon his return, he received an honorary doctoral degree at Göttingen and, with the Humboldt's backing, an appointment as *extraordinarius* for Oriental languages and comparative linguistics at Berlin. Only four years later, he was promoted to *ordinarius*. During his long tenure in office (1825–64), he wrote and published his comparative grammar (*DBE* 2: 24–25; *NDB* 2: 453–54; Bopp 1833–52; Babinger 1957: 245; Stache-Rosen 1990: 13–14).

Thus Sanskrit studies offered classical philology a vantage point that provided coherence to the field and even an opening for the inclusion of gradually emerging European languages studies, especially German. In this sense, it seems that the main concern was (classical) philology rather than Sanskrit or the Indians. Though the latter surely also existed, it cannot account for the speed and intensity with which Sanskrit studies were pursued in the institutional framework (chairs at universities). Sanskrit in conjunction with classical philology and comparative linguistics became the rising star in the academic sky, and this combination was clearly visible in the biographies of most, though not all, prominent scholars in the field.[25]

To contemporary observers, the conception of Sanskrit studies as an auxiliary field to philology was quite obvious, as a comment by Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798–1874) on the appointment of Adolf Friedrich Stenzler (1807–87) at Breslau illustrates:

> *Alle Welt schrie: Sanskrit in Breslau! In Breslau, wo man nur Brotwissenschaft studiert, wo die Studenten so arm sind, dass sie nicht einmal ein Publicum belegen, weil sie dann zwei Silbergroschen an die Krankenkasse entrichten müssen, wo zwei Studenten, wie man sich erzählt, nur ein Paar Stiefel haben.*
>
> (Cited in Pax 1950: 44)

Sarcastic as it may be, the passage leaves no doubt that Sanskrit was not conceived as a subject that would be studied for its own sake. Instead, Fallersleben argues that the students study in order to obtain a professional qualification (teachers). They are on a bread-winning mission. No "gentleman-scholar," who can afford to study just for the sake of knowledge, is found among them. But at the university of Breslau, the situation is even worse than that. The students are so utterly poor that they will/cannot register to any courses that are not absolutely necessary, not even to a *Publicum*, i.e., a lecture that is open to all students without additional tuition fee, requiring merely a payment of the contribution to the health insurance, which all students have to make. As the sharing of boots mentioned in the extract above illustrate, these students have to settle for less than the essential. It turned out, however, that the pessimism was unwarranted. Sanskrit studies survived even at Breslau.

Stenzler's appointment at Breslau is interesting also in another respect, since Sanskrit studies were officially framed as Oriental languages rather than comparative linguistics. In this sense, Stenzler illustrates another part of the spectrum in which Sanskrit studies could be set institutionally, as shown in Appendix 3. Stenzler had studied not only Sanskrit and Persian[26] but also Arabic, his main interests in research were Sanskrit studies, where he made major contributions (*DBE* 9: 507–8; Stache-Rosen 1990: 30–31). For example, he published a grammar, *Elementarbuch der Sanskritsprache* (1868), which remained in use even throughout the twentieth century. When Stenzler was appointed at Breslau (possibly also due to the fact that we worked in addition at the library), there was already a chair for Oriental languages, held by Georg Heinrich Bernstein (1789–1860), who had studied in Paris with Sacy. Bernstein specialized in Syriac/Aramaic and was thus able to address concerns of a theological orientation (*DBE* 1: 476).[27] Between themselves, Stenzler and Bernstein span the range of Oriental language studies not yet accounted for by the bracketing function that Sanskrit *cum* comparative linguistics provided for (classical) philology.

Philology: Classical and Oriental

The cohesion that Sanskrit and comparative linguistics could provide to (classical) philology was an important factor as can be seen by the fact that this line of inquiry continued, even intensified, in the course of the nineteenth century. But this was only part of the story. If Oriental languages had mattered only with regard to their function in the lineage of Indo-European languages, the study of Middle East languages would have been neglected. But this was obviously not the case. In the following, I suggest that two additional trends had a major part in shaping the

conception of Oriental languages as it became institutionalized in form of chairs: one occurred within philology proper and the other came from theology.

As mentioned, the reconstitution of the field in the form of the study of antiquity as suggested by Wolf and Humboldt was only one current, not even the major one, in classical philology. As Hanisch's sketch illustrates (2003: 12–15), the discipline is thought to have been split into two opposing schools. One was headed by Gottfried Hermann (1772–1848), who held the chair for rhetoric (and poetics) at Leipzig (1803–48) (Vogt 1979: 104–7); and the other followed August Boeckh, who taught first at Heidelberg (1809–11) and later at Berlin (1811–67) (Vogt 1979: 108–10).[28] The difference between the schools is seen to lie in their respective concepts of philology (Hanisch 2003: 13). According to that view, Hermann pursued to a philology which focused on words/languages as such, whereas Boeckh geared his philological inquiry towards (real/material) things (*Wort-vs. Sach-/Realphilologie*) (Turner 1983: 466).

In Hanisch's account, Boeckh is credited with having been the more decisive scholar who transformed language studies from a pre-modern *ars* (rhetoric) to the modern science of philology. As a student of Wolf and of the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), whose hermeneutics he adopted (Stohschneider-Kohrs 1979; Wiehl 1979), Boeckh is furthermore thought to have formulated a concept of philology on which *Altertumswissenschaft* (the study of antiquity) was established (Hanisch 2003: 13). Thus it appears that Hermann represented a rather irrelevant sideline, whereas Boeckh shaped philology's mainstream. Hanisch avoids the issue of dating the rise of the study of antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*), which "recognized all cultural phenomena as basis for the reconstruction of the history of classical antiquity." By drawing on a citation from Wolf for its delineation (Hanisch 2003: 14),[29] her presentation seems to imply that the field existed throughout the nineteenth century.

The sketch of philology is part of a chapter entitled: *Momentaufnahmen der benachbarten Fächer* (snapshots of neighboring disciplines) (Hanisch 2003: 10), which sets the stage before the main story, namely the history of Near Eastern studies in the first half of the twentieth century, is unfolded. In other words, the discipline of philology is presented in a "still" from the perspective of the end of the nineteenth century. For the present purpose, the perspective has to shift to the beginning of the nineteenth century and the picture seen in motion. An inquiry along theses lines comes to quite different results. For example, investigating the history of archaeology as a discipline that focused on "real/material" things (*Realien/Sachen*) in contradistinction to texts, Marchand comes to the conclusion that classical philology was not pursued in the framework of the study of antiquity at German universities from 1820 to 1870 (Marchand 1996: 51). Adhering to a concept of *Sach-/Realphilologie*, Boeckh was certainly not a part of the mainstream during that period (Marchand 1996: 42–44).

Reinhard Herzog (1983) arrives at a similar evaluation in his review of the history of philology. Drawing on a history of the field written in 1833 by one of Hermann's students, Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl (1806–76), entitled: *Über die neuere Entwicklung der Philologie*, Herzog argues that the concept of *Altertumswissenschaft*, as

suggested by Wolf and Humboldt, had been abandoned by 1830 (Herzog 1983: 282–85). In the process Boeckh was completely sidelined, until the rediscovery of his concepts by Hermann Usener (1834–1904) and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1848–1931) since the 1870s, which led to the reappearance of the study of antiquity in a revised version since 1880. Towards the end of the century, this variety of *Altertumswissenschaft* became the dominant current in the field (Herzog 1983: 284–85).

Although the two perspectives led to directly opposed results with regard to the evaluation of Boeckh's position, both inquiries are hinged on the same two aspects of Boeckh's work. One is the public controversy between him and Hermann which began in 1825; and the other is his systematic outline of philological methodology: *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften*. It was the latter text, which Usener and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf rediscovered, and which was even rediscovered for a second time in the 1970s (Flashar *et al.* 1979; Bollack and Wismann 1983). In recent decades, Boeckh and his text have attracted much attention as one of the major links in the nineteenth-century tradition of hermeneutics. In this context, Boeckh became seen as the champion of philology in the nineteenth century. Hanisch bases her account on the literature following that trend.

From the perspective of a historian, Boeckh's *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften* is rather problematic, because it was a lecture, not a publication. Boeckh held a lecture under this title for the first time at Heidelberg in 1809. Throughout his long career, he kept on giving revised and expanded versions of the lecture until 1865. He himself did not publish it. It was only published in 1877, a decade after his death, by his student Ernst Bratuscheck. A second edition appeared in 1886 (Vogt 1979: 110). The fact that the title did not change, does not necessarily imply that Boeckh held the same views for more than fifty years. On the condition that his student can be trusted not to have altered his teacher's text, the published text informs us with a reasonable degree of certainty on the views Boeckh held in 1865. Moreover, these were unpublished at that time. Since Boeckh was not known for being particularly hesitant with regard to publishing his work, nor was he in a position that would have made it difficult to find a publishing venue, if he had wanted to, the most reasonable assumption is that he did not want to publish the lecture, either because it required further revisions, or because he thought it "unfit" for publication (something a scholar can say, but not write/print). In any case, the text was not part of the formal discourse until 1877. Then it met with considerable interest.

A public controversy was sparked by Hermann's critical review of the first issue of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1825), a project which Boeckh undertook on behalf of the Prussian academy of sciences (Vogt 1979: 113). The exchange following the review was harsh and rather rabid for the next two years, afterwards it lost in speed and intensity, fading out by 1835 (Vogt 1979: 111–17). The controversy comprised at least two different levels. First of all, it was one of the fights over professional qualification and ensuing gratification which were numerous in nineteenth-century academia. In this specific case, the Prussian academy of sciences provided funds for a specific project, which Boeckh "monopolized." Hence,

Hermann's argument: more than one scholar should be in charge of such a big project; and if only one were to be chosen, this scholar had to be professionally better qualified than Boeckh. For good measure, Hermann even suggested a potential candidate: August Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871), a specialist of classical Greek studies, one of Boeckh's colleagues at Berlin (Vogt 1979: 113–14). Boeckh replied in kind.

The argument was surely neither polite nor considerate, mostly direct attacks against the other scholar, aimed at discrediting his professional qualification.[30] In this respect, the controversy, as many others at the time, was part of the transition process which the conception of scholarly work underwent in the first half of the nineteenth century. The introduction of the "research imperative" as distinguishing feature was part of the professionalization of scholars working at the university (Turner 1971, 1973; Stichweh 1994: 278–336), separating "professionals" from "dilettantes"/"amateurs." The transition occurred gradually; no central authority defined "research" or the criteria of professional qualification and implemented its definitions. Rather the rules of the game evolved in a somewhat lengthy bargaining process. During the transition, amateurs might pose as scholars, but more decisively, professional scholars could not be sure about their own legitimization and authority.

One way to prove one's own worth was to pick a fight, a strategy that can be seen to follow the tradition of the *disputation*. It was adapted to altered circumstances. The public argument was no longer oral, but appeared in print; and the opponent was rarely somebody one had met in person. This may in part account for the harsh tone of many such debates. While in the *disputation*, the different roles and the hierarchy among them had been precisely defined, the transition also turned these factors into uncertainties.[31] The need to reassert one's professional authority may explain why especially scholars who saw themselves leading their discipline engaged so actively in reviewing other scholars' publications.[32] Public controversies had the show-effect of boxing matches, they gave the professional the opportunity to prove and demonstrate the superiority of his skills.

The view that the aspect of proving one's professional qualification played a major part in the controversy between Hermann and Boeckh is supported by the fact that their famous clash (1825–27) can be seen as a "highlight" in a series of repeat matches, which began in 1816 and lasted until 1835 (Vogt 1979: 111–13, 117–18). This interpretation does not exclude that, on another level, the controversy might have been due to disagreement on a specific issue. Contrary to the widely held view that a grammar-oriented critical approach (Hermann) clashed with an historical-antiquarian one (Boeckh), Ernst Vogt shows that they disagreed on the concept of language (Vogt 1979: 116–17).

Hermann studied Kant's writings with Christian Ernst Reinhold (1793–1855) at Jena and adopted Kant's view according to which one can think only in language. By contrast, Boeckh assumed the existence of reason/intellect in and by itself, which can express itself in various forms, one/a major one of which is language. Boeckh's view opens a range of options, as for example his hermeneutic approach which gave rise to his recent fame. It could also provide the basis for conceiving

history that extends beyond languages and texts, as the main discipline, and thus turning philology into a sub-discipline. But these latter options were only explored toward the end of the nineteenth century. Rather than *Altertumswissenschaft* or history, Boeckh himself defined of his field as philology: *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaft*. Thus despite their major disagreement on the philosophical issue, each of them saw himself as philologist.

Moreover, as philologists, they may have been rivals, but not necessarily the leading scholars of two opposing schools. Vogt's review of the positions taken by their students, towards the issue of the controversy since 1825, shows that the students held rather independent views, not adhering to any school (Vogt 1979: 118–20). Vogt suggests that the "two schools" were actually invented by the philologist and archaeologist Conrad Bursian (1830–83) in his *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, published in Leipzig in 1883 (Vogt 1979: 117). Bursian's account was written at a time of a reorientation of the field which included also the publication of Boeckh's *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaft. Realienforschung* (research on material things other than texts) had become an actual possibility.[33] Inventing a "school" of *Sachphilologie* provided the new direction in research with a historical lineage and at the same time allowed to set it apart from the *ancien régime*, the "school" of *Wortphilologie*. In other words, Bursian's account can be read to state that philology until the 1870s was mainly *Wortphilologie*, following a grammar-oriented critical approach.

In part this orientation may have been due to emphasis given to grammar studies in high-school education. Apart from any practical relevance, grammar studies were seen to have an additional educational value, a disciplinary and acculturating effect on the mind. This task was supposed to be achieved by grammar studies and mathematics (Jäger 1987: 194). The emphasis on the "formal," in the sense of disciplinary aspect of education, was actually the entrance ticket for mathematics (and in its wake the sciences) to high-school education. Though mathematics had traditionally been a discipline at the faculty of philosophy, it was usually not taught at high schools until the end of the eighteenth century. During the Prussian school reforms at the beginning of the nineteenth century, mathematics made its proper entry to the high-school syllabus on the grounds of the supposedly essential combination of mathematics and language studies (Schubring 1987: 204–7).

The emphasis on formal structure connected logic in mathematics (and by extension the sciences) with grammar in language studies/philology (and by extension the humanities) and thus provided a substitute for the coherence which the school education lost in the transition from the *Lateinschule* to the *Gymnasium*. Thus grammar studies did not only dominate teaching of the classical languages, but also of German and French. Given that the concept of a general grammar to which all human languages are thought to adhere was widely held at the end of the eighteenth century, the grammar-oriented approach was necessarily applicable to all known languages, not only in theory but also in practice. As such the approach did not call for the study of any specific language. Why then should Middle Eastern languages have received so much attention? Of course, one of the obvious reasons

is that scholars with that kind of expertise were available. But in this case, Turkish could be expected to have been a major focus of interest, which it was not. The availability of expertise may not have been the only attraction.

Grammar was thought not only to be the key to any language, but also to provide the basis for the concept of language families, on which the distinction of classical Greek and Latin (as well as modern European languages) were seen to rest. The languages, including what became known as the Indo-European language family, are obviously very different from each other, especially if seen from the perspective of the language user. Knowing Latin, for example, does not enable one to read a Greek text. In light of these obvious differences within the family, arguing a family resemblance necessitates a demonstration that other languages are decisively different. Since also the latter had to be accessible by a grammar-oriented approach, uncovering another language family would be the most effective demonstration. The Semitic languages of the Middle East thus became a major attraction.[34] This can explain why despite the great expertise available, Arabic studies did not formally become a field of specialization, but remained necessarily part of the Semitic languages. By the same token, the attention directed towards Turkish which was seen as a "singular" language at least until the findings of Turfan expeditions,1902–14 (Hanisch 2003: 91 n. 311, 312; Mangold 2004: 102), remained relatively insignificant, especially if measured against the accessibility of knowledge.

Hanisch ends her overview of philology with the conclusion that nineteenth-century philologists can be seen to have conceived their research object without reference to the Orient.[35] In light of the discussion here, the conclusion needs to be qualified. Although the Orient did not matter for philologists, Oriental languages did. Endowing grammar with a formal educational value provided a basis for a coherent concept of high-school education. At the same time, it secured philology's hegemonic position among the disciplines of the faculty of philosophy geared towards the training of high-school teachers. For both purposes, a grammar-oriented approach had to be general and universal. Therefore the study of Oriental languages was a necessary auxiliary field for philology. Moreover, Sanskrit studies in combination with comparative linguistics based primarily on grammatical comparison provided a means to bracket classical Rome and Greece and even a link to modern European languages, especially German, while the Semitic languages of the Middle East furnished the counter-model in comparison to which the family resemblance of Indo-European languages could be proven. Thus philology needed the study of Oriental languages for the sake of its own legitimization. This may also explain why Oriental studies were criticized as a small, luxury discipline (*Orchideenfach*) until 1840 and then again towards the end of the nineteenth century (Mangold 2004: 294). In between, (classical) philology reigned supreme.

Theology and Oriental languages

In the literature, theology is invariably seen to represent the *ancien régime*. The rise of the modern scholarly tradition of Oriental studies is conceived as the field's liberation from theology. Seen from that perspective, any influence that theology might have had on the new discipline tends to appear as a negative one. That may, however, be a misperception. I suggest that theology also made a positive, even vital, contribution to the emergence of the modern discipline.

Indeed, the modern discipline of Oriental studies can be seen to have been established institutionally by transferring chairs for the study of Oriental languages from the faculty of theology to that of philosophy. This was a gradual process which occurred in the framework of the transformation of the faculty of philosophy. As outlined in Chapter 2, the first half of the nineteenth century marked a period of transition during which the faculty of philosophy transformed from an auxiliary faculty to a major one with the task of training high-school teachers. That process also entailed a clearer separation between faculties. While, for example, at Erlangen 60 percent of all *ordinarii* at the faculty of philosophy had been trained theologians during the second half of the eighteenth century, professional training in the discipline and faculty to which a scholar was appointed became much more common during the first half of the nineteenth century (Willett 2001: 128–32). This was a gradual process, however. The close ties which existed between theology and the faculty of philosophy allowed for mutual inspiration. Thus Wolf drew on Eichhorn's historical-literary approach to Biblical texts for his new concept of classical philology, which also entailed the concern for studying Oriental languages.

The theologian Eichhorn may have had an even more unmediated impact on the rise of the new discipline. He founded the *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur*, the first journal for reviews on Oriental literature in 1777, which published 18 volumes (Preissler 1995: 256).[36] As the project of the journal shows, the historical-literary approach to Biblical texts, which Eichhorn pioneered, gave rise to a heightened interest in the study of Oriental languages. In this novel theological current, attention focused on the text. More precisely, the interest was geared toward finding the "true" text. The quest necessarily entailed clarifying the literal meaning (lexicography). Moreover, it called for the identification of the chronological order in which various parts of the text were written, by means of comparing and dating language use as well as differentiating styles.

These methods were not without tradition in Biblical studies. For example, Albert Schultens (1686–1750) had a splendid university career on the basis of such pursuits (Fück 1955: 105–7).[37] According to his thesis, which was widely accepted, Arabic, Chaldean, Syriac, and Ethiopic were dialects of Hebrew, a relation that was thought to be similar to that of the Aeolian, Ionic, and Attic dialects to Greek. On that basis, he suggested to use Arabic in order to clarify the meaning of hitherto obscure Hebrew words in Biblical texts. His method was not systematic in the sense of comparing the meanings of words on a wide scale, but remained limited to the problematic terms. Moreover, the Arabic texts used for the purpose were written much later than the Biblical texts in question. Schultens "solved" the problem by "pre-dating" the Arabic texts and by arguing that Arabic in its pristine form had existed since the time of Ishmael (Fück 1955: 106).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the situation had changed. The interest in chronology ("temporalization") shifted the focus of the investigation at a time when more and more texts in various Oriental languages became accessible to

a growing number of scholars. In light of these developments, the easy "solutions" which had been open to Schultens were no longer an option. Instead, a systematic approach was called for on all levels: the methods employed for the purpose of etymology were thoroughly transformed.[38] In line with the method adopted by Wolf in Homeric studies, metric became a major concern for the purpose of comparison and dating and grammar issues moved to the center of attention. In other words, this theological trend adopted a philological approach to Oriental languages for its own purposes.

Eichhorn's student Heinrich Ewald became the most prominent representative of that trend in the earlier parts of the nineteenth century (*ADB* 6: 438–42; *DBE* 3: 198; *NDB* 4: 696–97; Davies 1903; Fück 1955: 167, 193; Babinger 1957: 255–56; Rotter 1974: 10–12; Preissler 1995: 257–58, 273; Ellinger 2006: 477). In his work on the Prophets and the history of the Israelites, for example, Ewald strongly favored a philological approach to Oriental languages. The double focus of his concern (theology and philology) was also reflected in the statement of purpose of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1837–50), the first two issues of which he edited (Christian Lassen edited vols. 3–7). Even in this journal dedicated to non-theological Oriental studies (Mangold 2004: 98), Ewald explained the necessary interrelation to Biblical studies which existed because this was how Oriental studies were pursued in the German scholarly tradition, in contradistinction to the current practice of French and British scholars, and also because that was where Biblical studies actually belonged ("*Auch bleibt's doch wahr, die Bibel gehört zum Orient*"—cited in Hanisch 2003: 16).

Thus, Ewald, as a theologian,[39] had a vested interest in philology and in the adoption of a philological approach to Oriental languages, especially those required for Biblical studies. Apart from his central role in the publication of the journal, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Ewald was one of the founders of the association of philologists (*Verein der Philologen und Schulmänner*) in 1838. He was also the driving force that led the establishment of the German Oriental society (*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft/DMG*) within the association of philologists in 1845 (Mangold 2004: 180–83). Last, but not least, Ewald is credited with developing a novel approach to Hebrew grammar, then to Arabic grammar (1831–33) which laid the foundations for the concept of Semitic languages (Fück 1955: 167). In light of the discussion above, Ewald can be seen to have opened the way for philology's special interest in these Middle Eastern languages.

It is noteworthy that Ewald pursued philological studies as theologian. That becomes clear when his position is considered in institutional terms. Ewald held a chair for Old Testament studies at the faculty of philosophy at Göttingen. Subsequently, his assignment was extended to include Oriental languages. This particular combination located at the faculty of philosophy may have allowed him to explore new paths. In 1838, however, he was dismissed as one of the *Göttinger Sieben* (seven professors at the university of Göttingen who signed a letter of protest against the abolition of the constitution). He found employment at Tübingen, as *ordinarius* of Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy (1838–48). In order to join the circle of (Catholic and Protestant) theologians, the "school of Tübingen" that championed

a historical approach to Biblical studies, Ewald successfully requested to have his chair relocated to the faculty of theology in 1841. After he returned to Göttingen in 1848, he also wanted his chair to be moved to the faculty of theology. Although he tried time and again, his requests were not granted, due to the adamant opposition by the faculty of theology and the representative of the ministry of education (Mangold 2004: 149).

The historical approach to Biblical texts was not the only trend in theology at the time. The Catholic university of Munich provides an example where the faculty of theology that opposed a historical approach to Biblical studies may nonetheless have been instrumental in establishing a chair for Oriental languages outside the framework of theology. The case in question was the appointment of Marcus Müller. Under the influence of his high-school teacher Jakob-Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861), Müller became interested in Oriental languages and began his studies at the university of Munich in 1826 "*mit der verwegenen Absicht, sich zum Orientalisten auszubilden*" ("with the daring intention to be trained as an orientalist") (Babinger 1957: 247). At that time, Oriental studies were represented by an *ordinarius*, Othmar Frank (1770–1840), a Benedictine, who had studied Sanskrit in Paris and London. Frank became a member of the royal Bavarian academy of sciences and professor *philosophiae ac philologiae orientalis, indicae inprimis ac persicae* at Würzburg in 1821. In 1826, he moved to the chair at Munich (Babinger 1957: 243–44). Frank appears to have been anything but a gifted teacher. Even the highly motivated Müller soon shifted his studies to classical philology, graduating with a doctoral dissertation on Plato's dialogue on the origin and nature of language. In 1830 Müller took the state exam for high-school teachers.

Fallmerayer helped Müller to obtain support from the Bavarian crown prince for a study trip to Paris in 1833, where he was very successful. Sacy took a special interest in promoting Müller's studies and also introduced him to the Société Asiatique. Müller published on Pahlavi literature in the *Journal Asiatique*, and was able to work on Pahlavi manuscripts as well as those of Arab geographers. In 1838, he returned to Munich with recommendation letters from leading orientalists and the Société Asiatique, and "*verfiel auf den Gedanken*" ("hit upon the strange idea") to apply for an appointment to a chair at the university (Babinger 1957: 249). That unconventional act obliged the university to react. The senate requested an evaluation by the faculty of philosophy and by the royal academy of sciences. The faculty stated that there was no need whatsoever to teach Arabic or Persian at the university. Moreover, a professor of theology taught the Biblical Oriental languages, and Frank dealt with the non-Biblical ones. The employment of Müller would be merely a matter of honor in light of the recommendation by the Société Asiatique. Also the academy of sciences declared that there was no urgent need for a specialist of Arabic and/or Persian. The senate came to the conclusion that Müller should not be employed at the university, since there was neither a vacancy nor any need for his expertise, and recommended that employment should be found either at the academy of sciences or at the court library.

With his hope for a proper livelihood frustrated, Müller had to struggle for survival. He was made extraordinary member of the academy of sciences (he became

a full member in 1841) and in addition received a small government grant to continue his work. Frank died on a royal mission to buy Indian antiques in Vienna in 1840. Müller was not appointed to the chair, however. He became merely *extraordinarius* for non-Biblical Oriental languages. This meant that he still had very little income. His financial difficulties were a bit eased by an additional employment as a high-school teacher for Hebrew. Müller received a "provisional" appointment to the chair of non-Biblical Oriental languages only in 1847. Müller's story was a complex one. Many other scholars also faced difficulties entering a career at the university. The delay of Müller's appointment may in part have been due to the severe anti-liberal policy line of the government headed by Karl von Abel (1788–1859), when Müller was supported by the crown prince Maximilian (1808–88), rather than the Bavarian king.[40]

In addition to these factors, the appointment policy at Munich reflects a major concern for keeping the new type of Oriental languages apart from Biblical studies. In the standards of the time, the delineation of Frank's chair was rather elaborate. The explicit specification of its focus on Indian and Persian studies provided an assurance that it was not meant to interfere with Biblical studies. In Müller's case the situation was more complicated, since Arabic (as "a Hebrew dialect") was traditionally part of the Oriental languages used for Biblical studies. This may explain the objections raised by the faculty against the appointment. When the appointment was actually made, the faculty took care that no misunderstanding could arise by specifying that Müller was to work on non-Biblical Oriental languages. Since these included also Arabic, the official title can only be understood as a disclaimer: the pursuit of Oriental studies was not to have an impact on Biblical studies.

Thus it seems that there were two directly opposed trends in theology which supported the pursuit of philological studies of Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy: one, the historical-literary approach represented by Ewald, who hoped that the novel approach to Oriental languages would provide the tools for a critical perspective on Biblical studies; and the other, theologians who opposed the historical-literary approach to Biblical texts and had usually no interest of their own for the development of a philological approach to Oriental languages. But once a philological approach to Oriental languages existed, the theologians of the second trend were likely to support the establishment of the new discipline at the faculty of philosophy in order to prevent any immediate or unmediated impact on theology. The two positions represent the opposite ends on a scale. The disagreement concerned the extent to which the findings of philological studies should affect Biblical studies.[41] It was not a controversy over whether or not a philological approach should be adopted for the study of Oriental languages. Thus even theologians, who opposed a historical approach to Biblical studies, could be interested in Oriental philology.[42]

Theology's most decisive practical contribution to the emergence of the new discipline may have been that it supplied "the Indians who carried the movement." All students of theology were obliged to study Oriental languages that were required for Biblical studies. Of course, compulsory studies do not necessarily ensure proficiency. Nonetheless, some of the students may actually have used the

opportunity to learn something. In other words, a relatively large group of people from among theologians had received an introduction to Oriental languages on the basis of which they could take an interest in the emerging field of Oriental philology. This may explain why the *DMG* had more members with a theological training than professional scholars in Oriental studies (Preissler 1995: 298 Mangold 2004: 194–95), or why the theologian Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849) was chosen to open the *DMG* convention held at Basel in 1847. Since the *DMG* ran its organization and the publication of its journal (*ZDMG)* on a very tight budget, based on membership fees, its theologically trained members were of vital importance for its survival.

Moreover, theology students provided a considerable number of the students for the new discipline of Oriental philology. In the process of the educational reform, the university training of high-school teachers was relocated from the faculty of theology to that of philosophy transforming the latter into a proper faculty. As has been stressed, this was a very gradual process, during which theology lost quite a number of students to the faculty of philosophy, but it did not vanish. Theology students were still obliged to study Oriental languages, especially Hebrew for the purpose of Biblical exegesis. Many of the first generation of scholars in the new field of Oriental studies were trained in theology. Thus, universities, where the faculties of theology raised no objections, could get all services for one salary, by employing a scholar qualified for the entire range of the new Oriental philology and oblige him to give also lectures in Hebrew and exegesis for students of theology (Mangold 2004: 62–64, 153–54). In the course of time, the faculties of theology came to insist on a separation between Biblical and non-Biblical Oriental studies. By the mid-nineteenth century, scholars in Oriental studies would no longer give lectures in exegesis. Afterwards also the teaching of Hebrew was reclaimed by theologians. But during the initial stage, theology students could provide a fairly solid financial basis, making the attractive option of Oriental philology a viable one.

Oriental philology

In light of the preceding argument, the establishment of modern Oriental studies at German universities can be discussed with regard to three aspects: the influence of French scholarship (Sacy) as well as its interrelation to theology and to classical philology. Sacy, whose work is usually identified as the beginning of the modern tradition in Middle East studies, introduced his students to a systematic grammar-oriented approach to languages studies, which he applied to a very wide range of Oriental languages. Even if one assumes that such expertise marks an objective milestone in the progress of human knowledge, as Fück and all scholars following his account clearly do, mere availability does not explain why scholars thus qualified were hired by German universities.

Rather than considering any potential contribution to "pure knowledge," I have suggested seeking the explanation in the more concrete and immediate concerns of the hiring institution. In particular, Sanskrit studies could make a vital contribution

to the conceptual reintegration of classical antiquity, after the shift in attention to Greece had cause a split between Greeks and Romans. Sanskrit studies allowed conceptually to distinguish and to bracket "classical antiquity," which was at the heart of high-school education and the leading discipline in the faculty of philosophy, geared towards the training of high-school teachers since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the Sanskrit lineage, established by comparative linguistics based on a grammar-oriented approach, provided the study of modern European languages, especially of German, with an entrance ticket to the academic realm.

The rationale hinged entirely on the centrality of grammar as the key to any language, and thus to the intellect (and culture) of its users. The primacy ascribed to grammar (and logic) as general structural-educational principle provided high-school education with a *raison d'être* replacing the coherence which was lost in the transition from the Latin school to the *Gymnasium*. In order to fulfill that function, the grammar-oriented approach had to be universally valid, applicable to all known languages. For the sake of its own legitimization, classical philology needed the study of other languages, including Oriental ones, not any one in particular, but as many as possible. At the same time, the claim to family resemblance, despite all obvious differences, could most effectively be made, if Indo-European languages were seen in juxtaposition to another language family, making the Semitic languages of the Middle East a highly attractive research topic.

A theologian, Heinrich Ewald, laid the foundation for the study of Semitic languages on the basis of grammar. Therefore, Ewald can be seen to have opened the way for philology's special interest in these Middle Eastern languages. This was not the only contribution of theology to the rise of the new discipline of Oriental studies. The historical literary approach to the study of Biblical texts not only inspired Wolf's concept of philology, which gave rise to philology's concern for the study of Oriental languages, but the theological trend itself required the pursuit of Oriental philology. Rather than being just the traditional framework from which Oriental studies had to be liberated in order to emerge as a modern scholarly discipline, theology, or at least one of its trends at the time, made out of its own self-interest a vital contribution to the rise of the discipline. As the example of the University of Munich illustrates, even the theological counter-trend, opposing a historical approach to Biblical studies, had not necessarily only negative implications for the establishment of Oriental philology. Last, but not least, theology made two very practical contributions to the rise of the new discipline. For one, Oriental philology could draw support and attention from among theologians and others who had undergone theological training and thus had had a chance to become acquainted with Oriental languages. Second, theology students could guarantee full lecture halls.

In combination with each other, these developments in (classical) philology and theology provided a strong impetus for establishing the new chairs in Oriental studies. At the same time, however, they did not necessarily call for the same expertise. In other words, a scholar would have to be able to offer a very wide range of knowledge (languages) in order to qualify. Under these circumstances, students who studied with Sacy had an obvious advantage,[43] although Sacy's concept of languages was not quite congruent with the currents of thought that determined the

developments at German universities. Fück places Sacy in the tradition of French enlightenment according to which all human beings were equally endowed with the faculty of reason. Language was seen as a means of communication. All languages had basic elements of a general grammar in common; differences existing between languages were thought to be due to random choices of circumstantial convenience. Language studies were supposed to aim at formulating grammatical rules exclusively derived from the thorough, strictly positivist/rational investigation of actual language use, and at integrating these rule into a system along the lines of a *grammaire générale* (Fück 1955: 140–43).

In practical terms, Sacy introduced his students to a grammar-oriented approach to the study of languages, which he applied not only to Arabic, for which he held the chair, but to a very wide range of other Oriental languages as well. Thus his students obtained a sort of double qualification, namely expertise in a specific field such as certain types of literature in Arabic or Persian, for example, and expertise in a method/technique to study and to teach themselves and others any foreign language, in particular Oriental ones. The latter with its emphasis on grammar provided the perfect qualification for the field of Oriental language studies as it emerged at German universities, while Sacy's positivist grammar-oriented approach could be adapted to a variety of language concepts including those of Hermann, Boeckh, Humboldt, and Bopp.

Moreover, the possibility to oblige scholars who were appointed to the new chairs in Oriental philology, to teach also theology students, made the decision to introduce the novel trend in Oriental studies for most universities a low-risk venture with a potential for profit. In financial terms, Sacy was an enormous success. He attracted students not only from France, but also from all over Europe, including many German ones. As Johansen stresses, even German ruling circles had heard of him. Several German governments sent students to study with Sacy. While there is no evidence that they "intended to produce expert knowledge on the [contemporary] Orient at their universities," it is conceivable that both rulers and universities saw in such a line of action a possibility to meet the requirements of the novel trends in philology and theology, while also finding a remedy for strained university finances. If Oriental languages studies *à la Sacy* worked so well at Paris, one should be able to attract paying students to Munich or Bonn, for example, by the same means. In this sense, I agree with Johansen's evaluation that the establishment of new chairs for Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy "was a political decision, not an initiative stemming from the field of Oriental studies" (Johansen 1990: 75).

The set of new chairs for Oriental studies, with a novel definition, established at faculties of philosophy at a considerable number of German universities, created the institutional framework in which the new discipline and profession could evolve. Johansen evaluates that process as follows:

> But from the 1830s onward, the mainstream of German Oriental studies was clearly dominated by the grammatical positivism of the school of Leipzig, where Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–88), a student of de Sacy, ruled supreme. He held the chair in Leipzig for more than fifty years (1835–88) and

> his students occupied most of the German—and at least some of the other European—chairs of Oriental studies. Fleischer transformed the Orient into grammar and lexicography.
>
> (Johansen 1990: 77)

On the basis of the discussion here, I have to disagree with Johansen. The object of study was not the Orient, but Oriental languages. Moreover, it is highly doubtful that Fleischer could have been in a position to transform the field, the delineation of which can be seen as a function of concerns arising in (classical) philology and theology. Given that Fleischer had been Gottfried Hermann's student before he went to study in Paris, and that Hermann had supported his appointment to the chair at Leipzig (Mangold 2004: 153 n. 800), it is much more likely that Fleischer made his career because he was able to teach and research the issues in demand, namely grammar and lexicography.

5 The beginning of differentiation

Sanskrit and Semitic languages

In the previous chapter, the discussion focused on the initial stage in the history of the modern discipline of Oriental studies. In the course of the transformation of the faculty of philosophy geared towards the training of high-school teachers, chairs for Oriental studies, conceived as the study of Oriental languages, were established at a considerable number of German universities until the middle of the nineteenth century. The delineation of Oriental studies was determined by the requirements of both classical philology and theology at the time. Though not comprising all German universities, the set of new chairs provided an institutional framework in which the new discipline and profession could evolve.

Therefore, one could expect to see three interrelated developments taking place since the mid-century. In light of the general development patterns stemming from the competitive nature of the German university system, the process of establishing new chairs for Oriental studies could be expected to continue and reach also those universities that had not institutionalized the discipline by mid-century. At the same time, a process of professionalization could be expected to gather pace, marking the transition from scholars of the first generation, who were usually "self-made" experts, to scholars of the next generation, who underwent increasingly standardized training and career paths, reinforced by the formalization of university careers in general. Moreover, Oriental studies were established with an inherent functional difference between Sanskrit (and Indo-European languages) studies and those of other Oriental languages, in particular Semitic languages. As the discussion in the previous chapter has shown, Sanskrit was vital for the constitution of classical philology, while philological study of Semitic languages was merely required for the legitimization of philology's grammar-oriented approach by means of comparison (drawing also support from its relevancy for theology). Since the dual focus of Oriental studies had already led to the establishment of two separate chairs at Bonn, Leipzig, Halle, Breslau, and Berlin,[1] the institutional differentiation could be expected to spread throughout the university system.

But the development of Oriental studies since the mid-century did not follow the expected path. The practice of establishing two separate chairs, one for Sankrit (and comparative linguistics) and another one for Semitic languages, gathered pace only since the 1870s, with a delay of twenty years. The introduction of Oriental studies to universities which had not established chairs for the discipline until

mid-century occurred even later. Only by the end of the century were Oriental studies represented at all universities. In the present chapter, the discussion will consider the reasons for these "delays" as well as the implications for the discipline itself and for the process of professionalization. I intend to show that the developments from mid-century until the early 1870s gave further preference to Sanskrit studies. At the same time, it posed a serious problem for scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages, forcing them to adopt various counter-strategies.

Development on hold

Beginning with a brief overview of the institutional development, I shall sketch the particularities of the development between 1850 and 1870, especially the relatively small number of new chairs and of new appointments to existing ones in combination with a preference given to Sanskrit studies. For an explanation, the discussion then turns to review the literature on the history of the discipline and concludes with my suggestion to see the development of Oriental studies as function of the institutional development of philology and of theology at the time.

A survey shows that thirteen new chairs for Oriental studies were established between 1850 and 1870 (Appendix 3), only half of the number of chairs that had been established between 1818 and 1848. The slow-down in the expansion becomes even more visible in light of the fact that most of these new chairs seem to have been established under "exceptional" conditions. Four or five such appointments had also been made until 1848,[2] but they seem to have become the rule after 1850. In addition to three personal appointments,[3] two novel types of chairs appeared. In 1852, a chair for Sanskrit and German studies was established at Heidelberg; and at Prague, Alfred Ludwig was appointed to a chair with an even wider delineation: Greek, Latin, and comparative linguistics, including Sanskrit, Iranian, and Semitic languages. Several chairs were established for scholars who worked at the university libraries: Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld at Göttingen in 1852 (*DBE* 10: 595; Fück 1955: 193–94; Preissler 1995: 304), Rudolf Roth at Tübingen in 1856 (*DBE* 8: 415–16; Stache-Rosen 1990: 58–59); Gustav Weil at Heidelberg in 1861 (*ADB* 41: 486–88; *DBE* 10: 391; Fück 1955: 175; Paret 1968: 9; Preissler 1995: 254) and Wilhelm Ahlwardt at Greifswald in 1861 (*DBE* 1: 59; *NDB* 1: 112; Fück 1955: 191–92, 222). Thus only three new chairs fit the pattern that could be expected in light of the preceding development. All three were chairs for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics: Anton Boller at Vienna in 1855, Theodor Benfey at Göttingen in 1862, and Martin Haug at Munich in 1867.

Scholars who intended to pursue a career in Oriental studies had to face more difficult circumstances than they could have expected in light of the fast development of the discipline until 1848. The situation was aggravated by the low number of new appointments to existing chairs. Between 1850 and 1866, seven such appointments occurred, two of which were coincidental.[4] Five additional ones were made between 1867 and 1870.[5] Moreover, a number of universities seem to have been in no hurry to fill vacancies, often relying on the less expensive services of *extraordinarii* and lecturers, instead.[6] From the perspective of the scholars employed, these were surely

unfavorable conditions. The impression of a regressive turn in the development of the discipline had been spurred by events at Erlangen. After Friedrich Rückert left for his position at Berlin in 1841, the chair remained vacant. In 1848, the university considered moving it to the faculty of theology. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer published an open letter of protest in 1849 (Preissler 1995: 262–63; Mangold 2004: 140–41). The rescue attempt was successful. The chair remained at the faculty of philosophy, and Friedrich von Spiegel was appointed *ordinarius* in 1852. But the story sent a shock wave through the entire professional community.

Why did the development of the discipline slow down by the middle of the century, after it began under such favorable conditions? In the literature on the history of the discipline,[7] the development since the mid-century has received little attention. Only Mangold presents a very thorough account of the institutional development (2004: 117–75, esp. 155–64). She found that little progress had been made between 1850 and 1875, although new positions for Sanskrit and comparative linguistic studies were established resulting in the representation of the field at almost all universities (2004: 163–64). Unfortunately, Mangold does not discuss the reasons for the development, nor the potential implications for the conception of the discipline. She presents the conceptual debate in the preceding chapter without reference to the institutional setting (2004: 78–115). Moreover, since she considers Arabic, Turkish, and Persian as core languages of Oriental studies, Mangold explicitly decides not to include Sanskrit/Indian studies in the discussion of the conception of the discipline (2004: 103).

Mangold's decision follows the general pattern in the literature on disciplinary history.[8] Only Hanisch discusses the development of Sanskrit studies in the nineteenth century. In her view, Sanskrit owed its centrality to the fact that enlightenment's search for the origin of mankind had been transformed by philology into the quest for the historical roots of European languages, turning Sanskrit into part of European pre-history (*Vorgeschichte*). Thus Europeans/Germans were able to identify with Sanskrit. By contrast, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer supposedly failed to follow the main trend in German philology, which she identified with August Boeckh (Hanisch 2003: 26–28). Fleischer's choice is thought to have had far-reaching consequences:

> Due to the fact that the study of Indo-European languages had a greater affinity to the concept of a scholarly approach to which the modern universities adhered, than the study of Semitic languages which had arisen from theology, many competent scholars specialized in the study of Indo-European languages and, at least in the faculty of philosophy, the field received preferential treatment over study of Semitic languages.[9]
>
> (Hanisch 2003: 28)

There may be reason to question Hanisch's explanation, however. As I have argued in the previous chapter, Philology at German universities followed Gottfried Hermann rather than August Boeckh for most of the nineteenth century. Moreover, Mangold challenges Hanisch's view by showing that the discipline of Oriental

studies, seen as focusing on Middle Eastern languages, was able to lay claim to one major achievement until the 1870s—namely it established its scholarly philological credentials (Mangold 2004: 78–115, esp. 82–91, 108–15).

The slow-down in the development has not been explained in the literature. Also the preference given to Sanskrit and comparative linguistics still requires an explanation, since there is no evidence to support Hanisch's thesis that the field was seen to be more scholarly (*wissenschaftlich*) in its approach than the study of other Oriental, in particular Middle Eastern languages. To answer these questions, I suggest considering the general situation of the universities at the time and its impact on the development of the major disciplines which were instrumental for the rise of Oriental studies, namely (classical) philology and theology. While the first half of the nineteenth century was marked by rising numbers of students and a rapid expansion of the universities, student numbers dropped substantially after 1848 and remained on a very low level until the end of the 1860s. Consequently, universities stopped expanding their faculties and even tried to economize by abolishing already existing chairs or leaving them vacant, after *ordinarii* had left or died. Thus while during the first half of the century, positions had become available in growing numbers, the following twenty years were marked by a lack of new positions and even a reduction in existing ones.

This trend was further enhanced by what may be considered a structural problem of university employment. The transformation of the faculty of philosophy entailed the emergence of new and/or redefined disciplines, providing employment opportunities for scholars with novel qualifications and orientations. During that initial stage, scholars were quite often appointed to chairs at a relatively young age. Tenure was for life, without retirement. Thus quite a number of scholars held their positions for a very long time. As Marchand observes:

> In general, autobiographical accounts and eulogies contain very little in the way of personal information; except for glimpses into political behavior where it is unavoidable, as in the cases of Welcker or Mommsen, or chance comments on professorial eccentricities, the picture painted is one of ceaseless toil, of a Spartan life-style fully commensurate with the Pietist-ascetic dedication to learning advocated (and practiced) by F.A. Wolf. Perhaps by leading such puritanical lives, nineteenth-century classicists managed to survive to great age, especially those who did not venture too far from home. Creuzer lived to be eighty-seven; Immanuel Bekker to be eighty-six. Mommsen died in 1903 at the age of eighty-six, Böckh and Ernst Curtius were eighty-two, and Welcker was eighty-four, when their careers ended. The relatively young age at which these philologists had received their positions meant that they held their chairs for extraordinarily long periods. Bekker held his Berlin post for sixty-one years; Böckh lasted fifty-six years in Berlin, while Creutzer occupied his Heidelberg chair for fifty-four years. Its formative experiences in the era of Humboldt's reforms, this cohort of classicists held positions of influence and prestige into the 1860s, exerting an undeniable drag on innovation.
>
> (Marchand 1996: 50)

Although its interrelation with the lack of innovation may be debatable, long tenure certainly meant that these positions were out of circulation, and thus aggravated the already difficult situation of the academic job market at a time of considerably reduced student numbers.

For young scholars seeking a career at the university, this meant that the major discipline at the faculty of philosophy offered little hope for the realization of their ambitions. For example, already at school, Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) had set his heart on studying classical philology, but he had to listen to reason (his father) and enroll for a subject thought to be more likely to secure his livelihood: Oriental languages *cum* Old Testament at Göttingen (*DBE* 7: 430; *NDB* 19: 311–12; Müller 1906; Snouck Hurgronje 1931; Becker 1932; Fück 1955: 213–20; Paret 1968: 12–14; Hanisch 2003: 199; Ellinger 2006: 511).[10] The situation in the affiliated minor disciplines was rather similar. Sanskrit studies combined with comparative linguistics provided not only a unifying perspective for classical philology, but also opened the way to university for the study of modern European languages, especially German.[11] By 1850, the first chairs for German studies had been established. But also here, little further progress could be made until the 1870s (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 257–58). The developments until the mid-century had raised a lot of hopes, which stood to be frustrated by the hold of university expansion in the following decades.

In light of these limitations, the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics attained greater importance. During the initial stage, a dual focus could be observed in Sanskrit studies. For example, for August Wilhelm von Schlegel at Bonn, Sanskrit and its literature stood at the center of attention, while greater emphasis was placed on comparative linguistics by Franz Bopp at Berlin.[12] It was the latter trend that provided the framework on the basis of which new fields of specialization in philology could arise. But reduced student numbers brought the development to a hold just when these fields of specialization were on the brink of institutionalization, resulting in a sort of flow-back, which was further aggravated by the end of expansion and limited employment opportunities in the leading discipline, classical philology. If the institutional development would not have been interrupted, Sanskrit studies could have been a proper field of specialization, while comparative linguistics might have played a less central role.

It is impossible to tell what would have happened had circumstances been different. But such a trend is visible at Bonn in 1840. Christian Lassen was promoted to *ordinarius* of ancient Indian language and literature. By the middle of the century, i.e., a decade later, the situation had changed. The orientation of the field shifted in the opposite direction as was reflected in the formal delineation of chairs. With the exception of one chair (held by Albrecht Weber at Berlin), all assignments were made for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics (Appendix 3; see also Mangold 2004: 163). It provided an institutional framework in which the study of modern European languages, especially German, and even of the classical languages could be pursued, at a time when the proper institutional outlets, i.e., chairs formally designated for these fields were insufficient in numbers. In this light, it seems that the interest was not primarily directed at Sanskrit as such,

or any kind of European "pre-history." Much rather comparative linguistics stood at the center of attention.[13]

This trend channeled scholars into the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, which changed the balance between Indian and Middle Eastern languages, the main subdivisions of Oriental studies at the time. The focus on the "European" periphery of Sanskrit studies was bound to have negative implications for the concept of Oriental studies and its legitimization, in particular in a competitive situation. The discipline of Oriental studies was of course also affected by the decline in student numbers, which meant that new chairs could only be established with great difficulty. Also vacancies were rather rare. Though scholars specializing in Oriental languages held their chairs not quite as long as some classical philologists did, many of them had considerable long periods of tenure as *ordinarii*.[14] In light of scarce resources due to low student numbers, the scholars of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics not only competed with those focusing on the study of ancient Indian language and literature over university positions (and won), but also with scholars studying Middle Eastern languages.

The career of Theodor Benfey (1809–81) may serve as an illustration. He studied classical philology at Göttingen and Munich and graduated (Ph.D.) at Göttingen in 1828, at the age of nineteen. A year later, he obtained his *Habilitation* at Göttingen. In 1832, Benfey moved to Heidelberg where taught himself Oriental languages including Sanskrit. He returned to Göttingen in 1834 and was permitted to work as lecturer for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics at the university. In 1848, Benfey converted to Christianity (Protestantism) and was promoted to the position of *extraordinarius*. At the time, Göttingen was one of the few universities where Oriental languages were well represented: Ernst Bertheau (1812–88) held the chair for Old Testament exegesis and Oriental languages, after Heinrich Ewald was dismissed (Preissler 1995: 288). When Ewald returned in 1848, a second chair was established for him. In 1852, a third chair was established for Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1808–99), who had been *extraordinarius* for Oriental languages for ten years and also worked at the library. Although Ewald also taught Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, Middle Eastern languages clearly dominated the discipline of Oriental languages. Thus a chair for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics could be expected to be established, in order to give the field a proper institutional representation. But Benfey received the promotion to *ordinarius* only in 1862 (*NDB* 2: 46–47; Stache-Rosen 1990: 32–33).

Mangold holds that the delay in the promotion was due to the fact that Benfey was Jewish (2004: 162), and that he has to be seen as part of the history of Jewish Orientalists which has not yet been written (2004: 162 n. 856). Benfey undoubtedly suffered from the restrictions imposed on Jewish scholars, in particular until 1848. But that was, to my mind, only part of his story. Benfey was a very prolific scholar and writer, who also received recognition for his work. For his *Griechisches Wurzellexikon* [Dictionary of Greek Roots] (1839–42), he was awarded the Volney prize from the *Institut de France*. He became a member of the institute as well as of the academies of sciences at Berlin and Munich, before he was promoted to the chair in 1862. Memberships in other learned societies followed. He was able

to publish most of his articles in the proceedings of the academy of sciences at Göttingen. To my mind, Benfey should also be seen as a representative of his field, namely Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, which was competing with scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages over resources, especially in the form of university positions.

Benfey published his history of linguistics and Oriental philology in Germany since the beginning of the nineteenth century with a retrospective to earlier times (1869), on which he had worked for a long time. The entire work is a rather elaborate exposé of the merits of comparative linguistics for which the study of Indo-European (*indogermanische*) languages is said to yield much more benefit than the study of the supposedly little differentiated Semitic languages (Benfey 1869: 566–67). To support his argument, Benfey relies heavily on Ernest Renan's *Histoire génèrale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1854). Benfey's history of linguistics can be read as stating the claim that preference should be given to Sanskrit and comparative linguistics over the study of Semitic languages in the appointments to university positions in the discipline of Oriental studies. Renan's main contribution in that respect was to provide the means to fend off the competitors. Benfey's own long struggle for the chair at Göttingen most probably contributed to his perception. But Benfey published the book after he had been promoted to *ordinarius*; he presented it not as a local, personal story, but as a history of the field; and it was also received as such. All these factors indicate that Benfey gave expression to views held at the time among scholars of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, and that the rivalry between the two fields of specialization within the discipline was a major concern. In light of the rivalry, the lack of appeal which Renan's theses held for scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages may have not only been based on conceptual and/or ideological grounds, as Hanisch seems to suggest (2003: 23–24). It is conceivable that the critical reactions were even to a considerable degree—a matter of defending employment opportunities.

The assault on scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages by their colleagues specializing in Sanskrit and comparative linguistics pursuing university appointments came at a time when the former had been losing much of their basis in theology. As has been argued in the previous chapter, the establishment of chairs for Oriental philology was greatly facilitated by theology. The research trend within theology which employed a historical literary approach to Biblical texts had an interest in philological studies. In addition, many universities were able to establish new chairs for Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy, because they could oblige scholars who were appointed to them also to teach courses in Biblical exegesis and Oriental languages, especially Hebrew, for theology students. As Mangold shows, many scholars perceived these assignments as an unwelcome burden (2004: 62–63, 93–94, 129, 138–39, 141, 146–47, 150–53, 157–58). But these extra tasks provided the new chairs with a sound financial basis. Two interrelated developments changed that situation, especially since the 1840s.

The first one was the growing opposition to the critical-historical approach to Biblical studies. The approach, as pioneered by Eichhorn at Göttingen, and further

developed by Ewald, was initially used for the study of the Old Testament and thus provided a major impetus for the establishment of Oriental philology. But they were not the only theologians to employ the approach. Other theologians began to apply it also for the study of the New Testament. For example, Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860), who held a chair at Tübingen (1826–60), focused in his research on the historical origin and development of the early Christian communities. Baur's work gave rise to the "school of Tübingen" that Ewald joined after his dismissal at Göttingen. Venturing into the core of Christian sacred texts proved to be highly controversial.

Bruno Bauer (1809–82), who had worked as lecturer at Berlin since 1834, drew heavy criticism for his studies questioning the existence of a historical Jesus (Bauer 1840 and 1841–42), in the wake of which he first had to move to the university of Bonn in 1839, and then lost his *venia legendi* in 1842. David Friedrich Strauss (1808–74) had a similar fate. In 1839, he was appointed to a chair at Zurich, but he was actually forced to leave town by angry protesters against his study on the life of Jesus in which he argued that the reports of the Gospels were mostly myths (Strauss 1835–36). Not willing to be defeated without a proper fight, Strauss restated his thesis in even greater detail in a second study (Strauss 1840–41). The heated public debate was further fermented by Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–72), a student of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), who launched an outright attack on religious sentiment in the early 1840s by his thesis that God was the outward projection of man's inward nature (Feuerbach 1840 and 1845).

In light of these events, the faculties of theology adopted defensive measures by redrawing borders. Though not mainstream, the historical-critical approach could not just be banned. Instead, a strategy combining reorientation and control appeared feasible. The reorientation came to emphasize ethical-social issues. Albrecht Ritschl (1822–89) successfully promoted the idea that theology should rest mainly on an appreciation of the inner life of Christ. But in the first instance, the measures focused on control as was most clearly demonstrated when Bruno Bauer's *venia legendi* was revoked. It certainly sent also a warning to all other scholars who were working in the field. To add further strength to the thread of punishment, faculties of theology had to claim the monopoly over the study of Biblical texts.

This meant that courses in Biblical exegesis should not be assigned to scholars of Oriental languages at the faculties of philosophy. The demand could draw support from the increasing institutional separation between the faculties of theology and of philosophy in the course of the latter's transformation for the training of high-school teachers. The realization was gradual, often depending on the financial resources that were available. By mid-century, Biblical exegesis was generally no longer part of the assignments for scholars of Oriental philology. This development also provided the background for Ewald's repeated requests to have his chair moved to the faculty of theology, after his return to Göttingen in 1848, and—in light of the controversy he was likely to stir—probably also the reason for the persistent objection raised by the faculty of theology and the ministry.

Like other disciplines at the time, theology underwent professionalization raising disciplinary borders. The free movement from one field or discipline to another as practiced by Ewald and others of his generation became unacceptable in the second half of the nineteenth century. The critical-historical study of Biblical texts remained a research option, but within guarded borders.[15] Only two serious scholarly projects deviated from the rule,[16] until the work of Paul Kahle (1875–1964) in the new field of Jewish studies during the Weimar republic (Wassermann 2003). One was undertaken by Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827–91), who, in pursuit of some Christian fundamentalism, worked on a critical text edition of the Septuagint—a project for which he was able to enlist the support of the Prussian king. De Lagarde studied theology and Oriental languages, graduated (Ph.D.) in Oriental philology, and was awarded an honorary doctoral degree in theology for the first part of his work (*Genesis*). In 1869, he succeeded Ewald at Göttingen. Though de Lagarde adopted very controversial positions in more than one field, the main point of criticism held against him among his colleagues in the discipline of Oriental philology was that he ventured onto territory that was out of bounds: Biblical texts (*DBE* 6: 197–98; *NDB* 13: 409–12; Fück 1955: 244; Wassermann 2003: 30; Ellinger 2006: 504).

The second scholarly project was pursued by Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), one of Ewald's students who became a professional theologian (*DBE* 10: 425–26; Fück 1955: 223–26; Littmann 1956; Paret 1968: 14–15; Rohde 2000: 445; Hanisch 2003: 211; Wassermann 2003: 11). Wellhausen held the chair for Old Testament at Greifswald since 1872. In his research, he focused on Biblical texts relating to the time of Moses. His findings were published in 1878. He came to the conclusion that these texts were written after the Babylonian exile at the time of the second Temple. Opposition to his thesis within the faculty of theology was so strong that he had to hand in his resignation in 1882, before he could publish a revised edition (Wellhausen 1883). He was able to find alternative employment, first as *extraordinarius* for Semitic languages at the faculty of philosophy at Halle, and in 1885 as *ordinarius* at Marburg. After he had succeeded de Lagarde at Göttingen in 1892, he published a synthesis of his work on the history of "ancient Israel" (Wellhausen 1894).

Scholars of Oriental philology were not only relieved of teaching courses in Biblical exegesis, but stood to lose also the Hebrew classes for students of theology. That latter development gathered pace since mid-century (Mangold 2004: 62–63). Though it can be seen to lead in the same direction as the change in the assignments for exegesis, it may have been due to more practical concerns. The emergence of the faculty of philosophy as a proper faculty for the purpose of training teachers entailed that students who intended to become teachers enrolled at the faculty of philosophy rather than theology as they used to do previously. Thus theology's share in the total number of students declined, while the faculties of philosophy expanded. Since the development occurred at a time of rising student numbers, it did not necessarily entail cuts at the faculties of theology. By 1848, all German states and the Habsburg Empire introduced school reforms along the lines set by Prussia. The very low student numbers during the 1850s and 1860s put the expansion of the faculties of philosophy on hold. The implications for the faculties of theology were more severe, actually endangering existing chairs and other positions.

Under these circumstances, the faculties of theology had good reason to object to part of "their" resources, namely the fees for Hebrew classes for theology students, being lost to scholars of Oriental philology at the faculties of philosophy. Thus a trend set in to reclaim these resources (students) by two alternative strategies. The first one, more widely used in the beginning, was to support the appointment of professional theologians to positions for Oriental philology at faculties of philosophy (Mangold 2004: 157–58). The second one, first pioneered by Jena and Leipzig, became dominant in the long run. Oriental languages for theology students were taught at the faculty of theology, not in the form of special chairs, but as an additional assignment, usually added to positions for Old Testament (Mangold 2004: 153). Oriental languages for the purpose of Biblical studies could thus be institutionally represented at the faculties of theology, both at universities which had established new chairs for Oriental philology at the faculty of philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century and at those that did not. The study of the languages of the Middle East became divided into "Biblical" Oriental languages, i.e., Semitic languages focusing on Hebrew, and "non-Biblical" ones, in particular Semitic languages focusing on Arabic. The Protestant universities thus came to adopt the same pattern as the Catholic university of Munich, discussed in the previous chapter.

The danger for philologists specializing in Middle Eastern languages was very clearly illustrated by the development at Tübingen (Rotter 1974b: 9–12). Already very early, in the 1820s, the university sought to introduce Oriental philology. Julius Mohl (1800–876) was sent to study with Sacy in Paris. When Mohl chose not to return and to embark on a career in France instead, the new position remained vacant until Ewald's arrival in 1838. Ewald introduced the entire range of Oriental languages, from Biblical studies to Sanskrit. But the institutionalization of the discipline of Oriental philology at the faculty of philosophy made little progress. In addition to the slow implementation of the school reform until 1848 (Jeismann 1987b: 112–13), a major setback occurred in 1841 when—attracted by Baur's critical historical approach ("school of Tübingen")—Ewald had his chair moved to the faculty of theology.

At the faculty of philosophy, Oriental languages came to be represented only by an *extraordinarius*, Ernst Heinrich Meier (1813–66), who taught "Biblical" Semitic languages and had an interest in numismatics (Rotter 1974b: 12; Mangold 2004: 145); and by a lecturer, Rudolf Roth (1821–95), one of Ewald's students, who specialized in Sanskrit studies. When Ewald left in 1848, his chair returned to the faculty of philosophy, but the university was not in a hurry to fill the vacancy. Merely Roth was promoted to *extraordinarius*. Eight years later, in 1856, Meier was promoted to *ordinarius* (Ewald's chair), while another chair was established for Roth, who also worked at the library. After Meier's death in 1866, it took again three years until a successor was appointed: a theologian, Adalbert Merx, who held the chair until 1873. It was only in 1876 when Albert Socin (1844–99) was appointed that the study of Middle Eastern languages returned to the mainstream of the Oriental philology.

For scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages, these developments posed a serious threat. Although the separation between Biblical and non-Biblical

Oriental languages can be seen as beneficial in so far as it allowed these scholars to concentrate on philology proper, it also undermined the financial basis of their positions. In light of increasingly strained university budgets, this was a very decisive factor, especially as the merits of their scholarly field were also seriously challenged by scholars of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics.

Counter-strategies: alternative employment opportunities and the DMG

Scholars interested in the study of Middle Eastern languages certainly had reason to worry and to consider counter-strategies, in light of the developments both in theology and philology (Sanskrit and comparative linguistics). Especially for young scholars who had not yet obtained a tenured position, the first objective was to secure their own livelihood, in the form of an option for alternative employment. Although these were by definition individual solutions, such strategies could have repercussions for the constitutions of the field itself, if they become a dominant pattern in the career paths of scholars in the field. Therefore the discussion will begin by reviewing the options chosen. The most obvious options, in light of Oriental philology's interrelation with theology and classical philology, namely an alternative professional career in theology or philology (high-school teacher), were pursued, but not by many scholars. By contrast, work as librarian became a common feature with important implications for the discipline itself. In addition to these measures meant to secure the livelihood of individual scholars, I shall argue that the establishment of the *DMG* can be seen as a successful attempt to defend the study of Semitic languages as a field specialization.

The discussion on the measures taken by scholars in Oriental philology to secure their own livelihood, in the form of an option for alternative employment, has to be based on somewhat less than solid evidence. As explained in Chapter 2, studies at German universities were not structured, in the sense that a student who enrolled for a certain field had to take a specified course of lectures and classes. Biographical accounts are only source of information. If someone is said to have studied theology among other subjects, for example, it can mean anything from undergoing full theological training to the attendance of one lecture given by a theologian (usually a famous one). Moreover, scholars might have studied or prepared themselves for an additional professional qualification, but did not actually practice it because they were fortunate enough to advance in their careers in Oriental philology. Such potential professional options are likely to be omitted in biographical accounts. Alternatively, scholars who faced greater difficulties at the beginning of their careers might have changed professions for good, without leaving sufficient traces, be it by insufficient publications in Oriental studies, or by adjusted biographical accounts. An example for the latter could be someone who studied Oriental philology and chose theology as "backup," but then was only able to pursue a career as theologian. Since biographical accounts favor narratives of lineal progress, such a story is likely to be presented as one of a theologian. In light of these limitations, the following discussion has to remain tentative.

Theology was indeed often part of the educational background of scholars. For the first generation, trained during the period of the transformation of the faculty of philosophy, theology was usually still a part of the training for the newly emerging field of philology.[17] Another type of theological education can be found among scholars who began their studies in theology and then ventured into other fields. They were often students from families with very modest financial means, for whom theology (low tuition fees, many scholarships, and the prospect of church employment) offered the only path to an academic career. Although this type could be found throughout the entire period under investigation (during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries), it became a more frequent occurrence towards the end of the nineteenth century.[18]

At that time, another (third) type of scholars in Oriental studies appeared, whose training included also theology. Despite same earlier cases,[19] this trend was most visible during the 1890s and the first years after the turn of the century.[20] Since the late 1880s and the 1890s were a time of high academic unemployment, these may be scholars who tried to broaden the range of their professional qualifications in order to limit the dangers of unemployment. This interpretation can draw support from the fact that some of them also took the state exam for high school teachers.[21] The period of great expansion of the universities from the turn of the century until the First World War provided such scholars with career opportunities and made them a very visible group in the discipline in the first half of the twentieth century. Noting the phenomenon,[22] Hanisch seems to see it as an indication of Oriental studies' incomplete separation from theology throughout the nineteenth century (2003: 59, X–XI, 66). Historical continuity cannot be taken for granted, however.

In light of the institutional challenges the professional philological study of Middle Eastern languages faced at mid-century, it could seem reasonable if scholars in the field had opted for a double qualification to safeguard their career chances: theology and Oriental philology. This could have provided the basis for the continuity of the theological lineage. There is, however, little evidence to support such a thesis. For the issue at hand, the scholars relevant for the discussion would have to belong to the second generation.[23] Only few cases can be found.

Johann Gustav Gildemeister (1812–90) studied theology and Oriental languages at Göttingen and Bonn in 1830s. In 1845, he was appointed to a chair in theology at Marburg. He moved to a chair of Oriental languages at Bonn in 1859. Gildemeister also worked at the libraries at Marburg and Bonn. Karl Heinrich Graf (1815–69) studied at Strasbourg (France) around 1840 and was therefore not representative for the trend at German universities (*DBE* 4: 127; Fück 1955: 172; Preissler 1995: 291). Paul Anton de Lagarde studied in the late 1840s, but had to earn his living as a high-school teacher (1854–66). His return to academia (the chair at Göttingen) was due to royal backing. Nöldeke studied in the early 1850s. He was one of Ewald's students, but held no formal qualification in theology.

Gustav Bickell (1838–1906) studied in the late 1850s. He obtained a *Habilitation* in Oriental languages, then another one in theology in 1863. In 1865, he converted to Catholicism. Two years later, he was ordained as priest and became

extraordinarius for Oriental languages at Münster (Heine 1974: 14), which was at the time more a Catholic theological college than a proper university. Adalbert Merx studied in the late 1850s. He made his career as theologian, apart from (maybe even including) the short term as *ordinarius* of Oriental languages at Tübingen (1869–73). Julius Wellhausen studied in the late 1860s. As one of Ewald's students, he made his career in theology, until he was forced to abandon it in 1882. Wolf Wilhelm Count Baudissin (1847–1926) and Winand Fell (1837–1908), who studied at the same time as Wellhausen, also became theologians. Since I did not undertake a systematic survey of theologians, there may have been more scholars in theology with similar training and career paths.

Pursuing a career in theology could secure a livelihood and it did not imply that these scholars were not qualified philologists. In this sense, it was an effective strategy to cope with the challenges arising by mid-century. But if it had been the dominant trend among philologists specializing in Middle Eastern languages the field could hardly have survived within the discipline of Oriental philology. Nonetheless, the field did survive, and most scholars in the field did not rely on theology to secure their livelihood.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, work as high-school teachers served scholars in Oriental philology as fall-back position.[24] Since mid-century, only few scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages chose that option: de Lagarde was high-school teacher (1854–66); Andreas Heinrich Thorbecke (1837–90) took a teacher exam in 1858 (*DBE* 10: 23; Socin 1889; Fück 1955: 172, 213, 240–41); and August Müller (1848–92) worked after graduation as a teacher (*DBE* 7: 249; *NDB* 18: 334; Nöldeke 1892; Fück 1955: 172, 236–39, 246; Kreiser 1987b: 93–94). In light of the orientation of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, work as a high-school teacher may have been particularly attractive for philologists in that field because they could draw on part of their professional expertise. University expansion due to rising student numbers since the late 1860s and especially in the 1870s seems to have provided an opportunity for a career at the university for scholars who had become school teachers.[25] Afterwards, this option seems to have lost its importance,[26] probably due to the institutional differentiation within philology. By contrast, a trend towards teaching (at high schools) as fall-back option appeared since the late 1880s among scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages,[27] which can be seen as part of the wider search for alternatives in light of high academic unemployment.

Despite the difficulties arising at mid-century, scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages did not have to opt for teacher training as backup profession, for which most of their professional qualifications were irrelevant, since Middle Eastern languages were usually not a part of the school curriculum. Work at libraries provided a much more attractive alternative, especially since the late 1840s. Oriental philologists, of course, need libraries for their academic work. Especially in the early stages, they often had to travel to the libraries in Paris, London or Leiden. In the course of the nineteenth century, the situation changed, in particular with regard to texts in Middle Eastern languages, which became available at German libraries. There is no indication that libraries acquired books and

manuscripts from the Middle East (or other parts of "the Orient") in order to facilitate the study of Oriental languages.

As the story of the Gotha library, which has been mentioned in the previous chapter, illustrates, the acquisition of Oriental books and manuscripts created the need for specialists who were able to read, evaluate, and catalog them. The acquisition of Oriental collections has to be seen in the wider context of the development of libraries in general during the nineteenth century (Ungern-Sternberg 1987: 402–4). Though libraries had existed previously, the nineteenth century brought a rapid expansion on the basis of an altered conception. The public library replaced the traditional library conceived as rather exclusive institutions. The main factors contributing to the transition were the spread of literacy in the wake of the school reform and the growing publishing industry which produced books at costs that were beyond the means of most private individuals. Moreover, existing exclusive collections usually held by the rulers/states were transformed into public displays of national grandeur. The transformation of libraries followed the same rationale as that of the museum.

Certainly inspired by Paris and London, an extensive collection of valuable books and manuscripts including Oriental ones, displayed in an orderly arrangement and made accessible by catalogs, came to seen as part of the trappings of state power. University libraries stood between the royal/state libraries and the public libraries.[28] Especially at major universities, a considerable part of their function was representational, being state institutions. In addition, the differentiation of academic disciplines in combination with growing numbers of students entailed the need for an increase in the holdings which had to be organized for a great number of readers, and thus for a growing number of salaried positions for qualified personnel.

The Gotha library was a very early example for the deliberate acquisition of an Oriental collection. Other libraries followed. For example, in 1833, the University of Munich and the Bavarian government agreed to establish a chair for Karl Friedrich Neumann (1793–1870) in exchange for his donation of an extensive collection of Oriental books and manuscripts (*DBE* 7: 387; Preissler 1995: 254–55; Goren 2003: 327–28; Mangold 2004: 143 n. 732). In 1840, on the initiative of the minister of education, Eduard von Wietersheim (1787–1865), the library at Leipzig bought the collection of Ernst Friedrich Carl Rosenmüller (1768–1835), Fleischer's predecessor at Leipzig, and an extensive collection acquired by the theologian Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815–74) on a trip to Palestine and the Near East (Preissler 1995: 266).

Since the 1850s, deliberate acquisitions of Oriental collections for libraries became more frequent. Some of them were actually realized by the help of scholars in Oriental studies.[29] The guiding principles for the collections were not academic fields of specialization, but rather the intention to hold and display valuable and impressive Oriental manuscripts. The acquisitions were made wherever possible, that meant for practical reasons especially in the Middle East. Consequently, Arabic, Ottoman-Turkish, and Persian manuscripts and books came to constitute a major part of the holdings at German libraries (with regard to books, see Kreiser 2001),

and scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages were particularly qualified for employment there.

Though possibly incomplete, the following list of philologists specializing in Middle Eastern languages,[30] who worked temporarily or permanently at libraries during the nineteenth century until the First World War, is certainly impressive: .

- Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten: at Gotha (1816–24);
- Peter von Bohlen: catalogs of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts at the municipal library Hamburg (1818–21);
- Franz Delitzsch: catalog of the Hebrew manuscripts at Leipzig since 1835;
- Adolf Friedrich Stenzler: curator at the library at Breslau since 1835 and librarian (1859–72);
- Gustav Weil: at the library at Heidelberg since 1836;
- Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld: at the library at Göttingen since 1838, head librarian since 1872;
- Andreas David Mordtmann: at the city library in Hamburg (1840–47) where he arranged the Oriental manuscripts;
- Rudolf von Roth: at the library at Tübingen since the early 1840s, undertook a study trip to Paris, Oxford and London, and became head librarian (1856–95);
- Johann Gottfried Wetzstein: worked for a year at the Bodleian library at Oxford in the early 1840s;
- Johann Gustav Gildemeister: librarian at Marburg (1845–59); then at Bonn, where he prepared a catalog of the Oriental manuscripts (1864–76);
- Richard Gosche: librarian at the royal library in Berlin since 1847, where he also prepared a catalog of the Arabic manuscripts;
- Gustav Leberecht Flügel: prepared the catalogs of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts at the Vienna court library (1851–54);
- Ludolf Krehl: at the library in Dresden since 1851, and later librarian at Leipzig (1861–92);
- Moritz Steinschneider: prepared the catalogs of Hebrew manuscripts at the libraries in Oxford/Bodleiana, Leiden, Munich, Hamburg, and Berlin (since 1851);
- Adolf Wahrmund: at the court library in Vienna (1853–61);
- Wilhelm Pertsch: librarian at the library in Gotha, holding mostly Persian, Arabic, and Turkish manuscripts (1855–99), he also prepared part of the catalog of Oriental manuscripts at the royal library in Berlin;
- Wilhelm Ahlwardt: librarian at Greifswald (1856–65), and prepared the catalog of Arabic manuscripts at the royal library in Berlin (1887–99);
- Julius Euting: at the library at Tübingen (1866–71), head librarian at Strassburg (1871–1900), and then director of the library (1900–09);
- Otto Loth: a catalog of Arabic manuscripts at the library of the India Office in London (1870–77);
- Fritz Hommel: at the court and state library in Munich after graduation in 1874;

- Adolf Erman: at the library at Berlin at the time of his studies at the university (1875–76), and then at the coin collection of the royal museum since 1877;
- Samuel Landauer: librarian at Strassburg (1875–1918);
- Wilhelm Spitta: director of the Khedival library at Cairo and prepared its catalog of Arabic manuscripts (1875–82);
- Rudolf Eugen Geyer: at the court library in Vienna after graduation in 1884;
- Karl Vollers: director of the Khedival library at Cairo (1886–96);
- Heinrich Zimmern: assistant librarian at Strassburg (1887–90);
- Bernhard Moritz: librarian at the *SOS* in Berlin (1887–96), director of the Khedival library at Cairo (1896–1911), and director of the library at the *SOS* in Berlin (1911–24);
- Georg Jacob: assistant librarian at the royal library in Berlin (1888–90);
- Oskar Mann: librarian at the royal library at Berlin (1890–1917);
- Georg Kampffmeyer: at the church library/Celle (1890–95);
- Julius Lippert: at the library at Berlin (1891–97);
- Joseph von Karabaček: director of the court library in Vienna (1899–1917);
- Emil Gratzl: at the royal library at Munich (1899–1938), he served as head of acquisitions, and as director (since 1929), he also worked temporarily at the library at Würzburg (1907–8);
- Richard Hartmann: at the library at Tübingen (1905–10);
- Gotthold Weil: at the royal library in Berlin since 1906, head of the Oriental section of the Prussian state library (1918–31), and director of the national library, Jerusalem (1935–60);
- Carl Brockelmann: the catalog of the Oriental manuscript collection at the state library in Hamburg (published in 1908) and served as councilor at the library of the *DMG*/Halle (1945–47);
- Arthur Schaade: director of the Khedival library at Cairo (1913–14).

Apart from very few exceptions, these scholars worked at libraries, usually belonging or related to German universities.[31] This not only meant that they could be present and even work as teachers at the university at the same time, but it also gave the university an incentive to hire such scholars on the basis of a "package deal," a combination of teaching/research and library services.[32] The advantage is clearly visible in comparison with scholars of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. Among the latter, library employment was less frequent and, when it occurred, it often meant work at libraries abroad, for lack of suitable holdings at libraries in German-speaking states.[33] For philologist specializing in Middle Eastern languages, libraries provided employment opportunities, be it temporarily or permanently, on the basis of their academic professional qualifications. Library work thus became an important (and successful) career strategy in face of the challenges arising by mid-century.

The necessity to work at libraries, where Arabic, Ottoman-Turkish, and Persian manuscripts constituted a major part of the Oriental holdings, may also explain why Turkish and Persian were persistently part of the "canon" of Oriental philologists who specialized in Semitic languages, as Mangold has observed. She seems to ascribe the

phenomenon to Fleischer's "de Sacy cult" (2004: 86–87),[34] without providing any explanation why this practice should have spread or even continued, despite the fact that, at the time, the philological concept was "Semitic languages" to which Turkish did not belong, while Persian was even seen as part of the alternative lineage of Indo-European languages. Since territoriality only became an ordering factor at the end of the century, as will be discussed in the next chapter, it cannot serve as an explanation either. By contrast, the Oriental library collections provided a very good reason to study these languages for scholars who hoped to qualify for employment there.

Work at libraries enabled scholars specializing in Middle East languages to secure their livelihood, but the faculties of philosophy employed philologists rather than librarians. Since the middle of the century, the merits of the philological pursuit were called into question. On the basis of student numbers, theologians argued that study of Middle Eastern languages served Biblical exegesis and therefore should be an auxiliary field to theology. In order to promote their own positions, philologists specializing in Sanskrit and comparative linguistics held that Semitic languages were too similar to each other to merit extensive philological research. Despite the different objectives, both challenges were liable to undermine the legitimization of university positions for philologists specializing in Semitic and, by extension, Middle Eastern languages.

How did the field nonetheless manage to withstand the assault? I suggest that the developments related to the establishment of the *DMG* in 1845 (Preissler 1995) can be seen to have provided the basis for an effective counter-strategy. This is not an entirely novel suggestion. Hanisch (2003: 25–26) sees the *DMG* as means to liberate Oriental studies from theology and to adopt an enlightened scholarly approach ("*aufgeklärtes Wissenschaftsverständnis*"). Mangold dedicates an entire chapter of her study to the *DMG* (2004: 176–225), with the aim to establish its importance and functions for the discipline of Oriental studies (2004: 176). The *DMG* is presented as a national professional association established as a self-help organization in competition with French, British, and, to a lesser degree, American scholarship in the field (2004: 176–79, 189–93).[35] Although its annual meetings were more social, than scholarly gatherings during the initial years, they transformed into scholarly conventions in the course of time. In combination with the *DMG*'s publications, especially its journal, *ZDMG*, the regular scholarly exchange facilitated the crystallization of a common approach in the discipline (2004: 201–2, 207–11). In this sense, the *DMG* can be said to have formed the discipline.

Though Mangold's observations with regard to the *DMG*'s long-term effects on processes of methodological standardization within the discipline are convincing, there may be room for doubt concerning her evaluation of the early period. Mangold herself provides evidence which shows that from its inception the *DMG* was meant to promote international cooperation between scholars (2004: 179) and thus contradicts her own thesis that the *DMG* was established as an expression of national rivalry (2004: 176–79). The *Société Asiatique* (established in 1821), the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (established in 1823), and the American Oriental Society (established in 1842) may have served as model and reason for envy, and the call for a *German* Oriental society may even have been

used as argument in the bargaining process leading to the establishment of the *DMG*, without making international competition the *DMG*'s *raison d'être*.

Why was the *DMG* established? Mangold provides a second(ary) explanation: the contemporary German tendency to form associations (*der im Vormärz so lebendige Vereinsgeist*) which had already given rise to two professional scholarly associations, namely the society of scientists and physicians (established in 1822) and the association of philologists (established in 1837) (2004: 178, 180). The latter is said to have provided the model for the *DMG*, although Mangold could not find any explicit statements made to that effect by the founders.[36] Instead, she relies on circumstantial evidence: the *DMG* was established in affiliation with the association of philologists, an affiliation that lasted until the First World War (2004: 183–86). Thus the *DMG* is seen to have been established according to that existing model. But what was the common basis for its members? According to Mangold, it was a distinctive concept of scholarship, which did not focus on an increase in specialized knowledge, but rather on the comprehensive humanist self-cultivation by a scholarly mind.[37] Thus the *DMG*'s annunal meetings did not aim at the formation of the discipline, but were an expression of its members' commitment to the unity of all scholars (across all disciplinary boundaries) and to their common search for truth.[38] If that was the case, it is totally unclear why the *DMG* was established. The aim could just as well have been achieved without the enormous investment of effort and time, by scholars individually joining the association of philologists, or any other scholarly association for that matter.

Why was the *DMG* established? In order to answer the question, I suggest first clarifying *what* was established. The *DMG* was established on October 2, 1845 at a convention at Darmstadt, with its seats at Leipzig (Saxony) and Halle (Prussia). According to its statutes, the *DMG*'s aim was to promote the study of Asia and the countries closely related to it, and to widen the circle of those who participate in the acquisition of the such knowledge which was meant not be limited to literature alone, but to include also these countries' histories and the conditions throughout the ages. In order to achieve its aim, the *DMG* was to collect Oriental manuscripts, prints, natural history specimens and artifacts; to publish, translate, and study Oriental literature; to publish a journal; to initiate and support projects for the promotion of the knowledge about the Orient; and to be in contact with similar associations and individual scholars at home and abroad.[39]

Contrary to what one might expect, the *DMG* was not meant to be established as an association of professional scholars. The six initiators, Fleischer, Brockhaus, Pott, Rödiger, Olshausen, and von der Gabelentz, addressed their invitation to the founding convention to all "*Orientalisten so wie namhaften Freunde und Förderer der Wissenschaft*" (scholars of Oriental studies as well as [all] renown friends and patrons of the scholarly field) (Mangold 2004: 193). In her survey of the *DMG*'s members during the nineteenth century, Mangold finds that only about 40 percent of all members (German and non-German) were scholars teaching at universities. Only for half of them, Mangold was able to establish that they were employed in positions for Oriental studies (2004: 194). In other words, the vast majority of the members were non-professionals.

In 1846, Ewald characterized the *DMG* as "a true association of workers, in which some mostly contribute real work, while others at least participate in the work by paying money,"[40] and he stated that the *DMG*'s main purpose (*Hauptzweck*) was to bring together the means for facilitating scholarly work (Mangold 2004: 202). This view was upheld in 1895 by Franz Praetorius (1847–1927) in his address as first secretary of the *DMG* delivered on the occasion of the society's fiftieth anniversary celebration: "I do not hesitate to declare that it was the utmost essential task of the society as such to raise the financial funds in order to counterbalance the small numbers [of scholars in the field]."[41] Membership fees constituted the single most important part of the *DMG*'s financial basis which actually guaranteed its existence (Mangold 2004: 203). The *DMG* also applied for official funding from various governments. In so far as the *DMG* succeeded, they received grants for limited periods of time only (Mangold 2004: 203–5).

The *DMG* was a support and fund-raising organization, the establishment of which should be seen in the context the political developments at the time, an aspect which has not received any attention in the literature. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the first manifestations of a Prussian interest in the Middle East occurred in the early 1840s. Prussian consulates were opened at Beirut and Jerusalem in 1842. A year earlier, the joint British–Prussian (Protestant) episcopate of Syria was established at Jerusalem (Hanisch 2003: 29–30). In addition, Carl Ritter (1779–1859), the first *ordinarius* for geography at Berlin, who was one of the founders of modern scientific geography, had a special interest in Palestine and therefore lent his considerable support to projects concerning the region (Goren 2003: 68–83). These developments occurred too late to account for the emergence of the modern discipline of Oriental studies. They provided, however, rather favorable conditions for the establishment of the *DMG*. The society was not the product of any government's interests in the Middle East or any other part of "the Orient." Much rather, scholars, on their own initiative, took a ride on the growing political and public interest in the region, or at least they tried.

The situation changed, however, after the promising beginning in the earlier years of 1840s. The attention of governments and of the public refocused in the wake of the political upheaval of 1848, the altered political and economic circumstances of the period that followed, and the wars of German unification. It was only in the middle of the 1880s that the German government adopted an actual foreign policy towards the world outside Europe, including the Middle East (Hanisch 2003: 31–32). Despite the less favorable conditions since 1848, the *DMG* managed to attract sufficient public support in order to survive. The low in public interest may however have contributed to the process of "professionalization" among the members who took an active part in the *DMG*. Mangold observes that, in the course of time, these active members and, especially, the *DMG*'s officials came almost exclusively to be recruited from among professional scholars in Oriental studies (2004: 195–96). In turn, this provided the basis for the *DMG*'s role in the processes of methodological standardization within the discipline.

But that was not yet the case in the 1840s. At that time, the establishment of the *DMG* was only part of the story. Paragraph five of its statutes stated that the

society will hold an annual general assembly. According to the decision of the Orientalist convention held at Dresden in 1844, the assembly is to be convened at the time of the convention of the philologists' association, if circumstances permit.[42] The association of philologists was established in 1837 as *Verein der Philologen und Schulmänner*, a professional association of philologists working either at universities or high schools, and school teachers for mathematics, physics, history, and geography at high and secondary schools (Tenorth 1987: 261).[43] A classical philologist, one of Gottfried Hermann's students, who held a leading position at the Bavarian ministry of education, Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1860), initiated the convention of the founding assembly during the centenary celebrations at Göttingen, and was elected chairman of the association. Classical philologists were the dominant group in the association. Among the twenty-seven founding members were also Heinrich Ewald and August Pott (Mangold 2004: 180–81). The association was not based on membership fees, but scholars who attended its annual conventions were charged with registration fees (Mangold 2004: 202).

Convinced that also a "rallying point" (*Vereinigungspunct*) for Oriental studies and its "promoters and friends" (*Beförderer und Freunde*) was needed, Ewald decided to establish the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, in 1837 (Preissler 1995: 259; Mangold 2004: 181). Six scholars who were among the contributors to the journal, Fleischer, Rödiger, Brockhaus, Pott, Olshausen, and Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–74), a scholar in philology and councilor of state in Altenburg, met at Leipzig for the first time in September 1843, in order to deliberate the options for an organizational framework for Oriental studies (Mangold 2004: 181–83; Preissler 1995: 245–53). At a second meeting in March 1844, Brockhaus' suggestion to join the association of philologists was accepted. Fleischer and Brockhaus held negotiations to that effect with Gottfried Hermann, who was the president of the association's annual convention that was to be held at Dresden in October 1844, and with Eduard von Wietersheim (1787–1865), the minister of education in Saxony (Preissler 1995: 266).

Their mission succeeded mostly because Hermann and von Wietersheim, as well as Thiersch, promoted a concept of philology not limited to the study of classical Latin and Greek. Hermann declared in his opening address at the annual convention that the Oriental scholars' request to join was "good news, because not only (the study of) Oriental literature, but also that of early German and Romanic literature have to be welcome (at the convention) even without request, because they belong to the field of philology."[44] Despite the high-level support within the association, the new union also met with criticism as can be seen in another remark in Hermann's opening address:

> Although I can be certain that nobody among us holds such a narrow concept of philology that it should be limited to Greek and Roman antiquity only, I might be accused of making changes in a high-handed and arbitrary fashion, by extending the range of topics for discussion as well as the circle of participants in the deliberations.[45]
>
> (Cited in Mangold 2004: 187)

In organizational terms, the changes were considerable und certainly introduced in a high-handed manner.

The deliberations at the annual conventions had been organized in plenary sessions. When the "Orientalists" joined, they were established as a *Sektion* in the form of a separate panel or panels for Oriental studies. Thus a different format was introduced without prior discussion in the association's assembly.[46] Moreover, the widest possible circle of potential participants at the panel for Oriental studies was invited under the headline of a convention of German and non-German scholars of Oriental studies (*Versammlung deutscher und ausländischer Orientalisten*) (Preissler 1995: 266–68). This may have appeared like an invasion, even takeover to some philologists. For scholars of Oriental studies, it was the first meeting of this kind they had ever held. Forty-nine participants attended, despite the very limited railway connections to Dresden (Preissler 1995: 275), and fifteen academic lectures were delivered. The gathering also provided an opportunity to discuss strategies for further cooperation in order to improve the work conditions in the field.

In the debate, Ewald was the first one to argue that the institutional framework provided by the panel for Oriental studies at the philologists' annual convention was insufficient and that an independent society for the promotion of Oriental studies was needed (Mangold 2004: 182). The convention decided that such a society should be established, which was realized in the establishment of the *DMG* in October 1845, and that the society's general assembly should convene annually in affiliation with the association of the philologists. Why was the affiliation deemed necessary? In Mangold's view, it was a matter of prestige. The scholars of Oriental studies wanted their own independent organization (the *DMG*), while continuing the prestigious link with the philologists' convention. Her evaluation is based on the assumption that their participation as a group at the convention in 1844 marked the end of Oriental studies' link to theology. The scholars in the field are thought to have definitively chosen to be philologists, and they could expect to be fully accepted as such in academic circles (2004: 184).

To my mind, there is room to reconsider Mangold's evaluation. The organizers invited also theologians to the 1844 convention—certainly not with the intention to induce them to a career change.[47] Moreover, the importance of the association of philologists should not be overestimated. It was not an authoritative institution, but a voluntary association and a rather small one at the time. Only in 1867, was the association able to assemble almost 500 participants at their annual convention. These were a lot of people in comparison to the number of members whom the *DMG* could rally (Mangold 2004: 194). But they were relatively few considering that the potential members included both university and high-school teachers and that the German university system (as the high-school system) was a decentralized one and included a great number of universities (and even many more high schools). Although their collective admission to the philologists' convention in 1844 was certainly a great success for scholars in Oriental studies, it could not possibly have provided sufficient ground for scholars of Oriental studies to expect their full acceptance as philologists in academic circles.[48]

Thus there is reason to assume that the continuous affiliation of scholars in Oriental studies to the philologists' conventions was more than a matter of prestige. The assumption can also draw support from further circumstantial evidence. When the panel (*Sektion*) for Oriental studies was established, a reference to scholars of Oriental studies was added to the convention's title: *Versammlung Deutscher Philologen, Schulmänner und Orientalisten* ("convention of German philologist, school teachers and Orientalists"). In 1963, scholars of Oriental studies successfully requested that the special reference to them should be omitted and that they should be considered as German philologists (Mangold 2004: 186 n. 986). In other words, Oriental philologists could only at that point be reasonably certain about their acceptance as philologists within the ranks of the philologists' convention, which was still not equivalent to an acceptance in academic circles in general.

Moreover, the minutes of the *DMG*'s annunal meetings, published in its journal, the *ZDMG*, invariably state that the annual conventions were opened in a plenary session for all participants, afterwards the scholars of Oriental studies moved to a separate room for their deliberations under the title "convention of Orientalists." These sessions consisted of three parts: an opening address by the president/chairman of the convention; academic lectures; and discussions, reports and decisions regarding the *DMG*. In 1849, 1866, and 1870/71, the annual philologists' conventions were cancelled, but the *DMG* decided to hold its annual general assembly. These meetings dealt with *DMG* affairs only. No lectures were delivered nor any opening address. Although the minutes tend to be rather tedious in their attention to detail (e.g., *DMG* 1850), the absence is neither explained nor even mentioned, implying that it was thought to be obvious that the general assembly of the *DMG* would not include academic lectures nor any opening address. In other words, the scholarly contributions were seen as part of the convention of philologists.

After the philologists had cancelled their conventions during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 they decided not to wait with the next one until autumn, and to hold it already in May 1872. The *DMG* had held its general assembly meetings during the war and did not feel the need to move the next one to the earlier date. Thus the general assembly of the *DMG* convened as scheduled in autumn. The convention of Orientalists and the academic lectures were, however, part of the panel for Oriental studies held at the convention of philologists in May 1872 (Mangold 2004: 185). Until the First World War the convention of philologists took place only once without a panel for Oriental studies, namely in 1881, when the fifth International Orientalist Congress was held at Berlin. In 1884, the association of philologists decided to hold their conventions only every other year, whereas the *DMG* continued its annual rhythm. Only in 1892 did the *DMG* decide to organize also academic lectures in the framework of its annual meetings that were not held together with the philologists' conventions (Mangold 2004: 185–86). At that time, philology had undergone a far-reaching transformation, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

In light of the persistent practice, it is very unlikely that the affiliation to the convention of philologists was merely a matter of prestige. To my mind, it should be seen as essential to the way scholars in Oriental studies intended to constitute

their discipline. The convention of philologists can be seen as a representation of the disciplines of the faculty of philosophy according to the order and/or hierarchy as conceived by the dominant discipline, namely (classical) philology. The scholars of Oriental studies placed their academic work in this context. If the institutional setting did include an element of "symbolical anticipation" (*symbolischen Vorwegnahme*), as Mangold suggests (2004: 191), it did not relate to the territorial state. But rather, it can be seen as reflecting the constitution of Oriental studies at the faculty of philosophy. In light of the way in which the institutions were established, the discipline of Oriental studies was first of all conceived as philological discipline, but with an extra: the umbrella of the Orient, represented in the "convention of Orientalists" including the *DMG*.

The umbrella or bracketing effect of "the Orient" created a very flexible room for maneuver, the advantages of which allowed building a very wide coalition of scholars with different interests. The members of the first board of the *DMG* may serve as illustration for the coalition (for the list, see Preissler 1995: 286–87). The biggest group among the 12 members were scholars specializing in Semitic languages: Rödiger, Fleischer, Olshausen, Bertheau, and Ewald. All of them had a special concern for the interrelation between theology and philology. Moreover, Ewald and Olshausen did not limit themselves in their own research and teaching to Semitic languages, but included also Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. August Pott (1802–87) had established his academic credentials in the field of comparative linguistics, especially of the Indo-European languages. He pioneered the study of "Gypsy" languages. But he had also great interest in the study of African languages (Stache-Rosen 1990: 20–21).

Karl Friedrich Neumann, *ordinarius* at Munich, specialized in Chinese and Armenian studies, a truly exceptional field of specialization at the time. Under the umbrella of the Orient, his field could be seen as a legitimate part of Oriental philology. The legitimization may have been particularly important since he was known to have "bought" his chair by the donation of a collection of manuscripts and books. Christian Lassen (1800–76) specialized in the study of Indian languages and literature and was not interested in comparative linguistics (*ADB* 17: 784; *NDB* 13: 673; Fück 1955: 192; Babinger 1957: 245; Stache-Rosen 1990: 17–19; Preissler 1995: 256–57; Ellinger 2006: 504) which should have been part of his field according to the current philological categories. The umbrella of the Orient provided a counterbalance to philology which allowed justifying his specialization (Mangold 2004: 182–83). To a lesser degree, the same holds true for Hermann Brockhaus.

Andreas August Ernst Schleiermacher (1787–1858) had studied theology and Oriental languages at Giessen, Göttingen, and Paris. He worked at the library and the museum at Darmstadt since 1811. From 1830 until 1848, he was secretary at the cabinet of the grand duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, Louis II. (1777–1848). He was also director of the museum since 1844. His scholarly interests focused on library issues (e.g., bibliography and transliteration) and Oriental philology including Burmese and Malaysian (Preissler 1995: 277–78). Schleiermacher was interested in a comprehensive concept of Oriental philology and in the recognition

which he was bound to gain in the institutional setting for his scholarly ambitions. Franz Bopp and Carl Ritter, two influential *ordinarii*, at Berlin were elected to the board *in absentia* in light of the prestige that their names could lend to the *DMG*. In his turn (if he did not choose to fight it), Bopp had to be seen to be part of any major development in the field in order to sustain his position as leading scholar in comparative linguistics.

Ritter had not only a vested interest in the Orient due to his research focus on Palestine. Although he was very well connected, especially in political circles, Ritter's discipline lacked legitimization at the faculty of philosophy. Philology was able to establish a hierarchy of prestige, at the top of which stood the study of language and literature as the highest expression of the human mind and culture. Studying anything else was considered the much more mundane pursuit of so-called *Realien* (material things). In that philological universe, the sciences were relegated to the bottom of the hierarchy, while history held a position in between, combining philology with the study of *Realien*. When Ritter was appointed to his chair at Berlin in 1825, which was the first chair for geography at a German university, his discipline came to be seen as standing between history and the sciences, or as belonging to the sciences (Baumgarten 1997: 62). Joining the organization of scholars in Oriental studies that was as such represented at the convention of philologists gave Ritter an opportunity to claim a higher position in the hierarchy of prestige at the faculty of philosophy.

This was indeed a wide coalition of very diverse trends and interests. Its formation was made possible by the very favorable conditions of the 1840s until 1848. In light of the difficulties that arose afterwards, it can be seen as the fortunate timing of a last-minute job. The constitution of Oriental studies as philology under the umbrella of the Orient provided scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages with effective strategies in defense against the challenges to their positions raised by theology and comparative linguistics. An illustration for the use of such a line of argument can be found in a public letter of protest which Fleischer wrote in 1849, when the University of Erlangen considered moving the chair for Oriental languages from the faculty of philosophy to that of theology and to combine it with the chair for Old Testament exegesis:

> The Orient which we study, already extends beyond the lands of Semitic languages, it includes all of Asia and a part of Africa, which is such a wide field that one mortal is not easily able to be equally acquainted with all its parts, and even less to keep up fully with the work done on the various subdivisions. Therefore, the nature of the matter itself demands that separate chairs for the study of East Asia and for West Asia should be established at least at major universities, as they already exist—though not necessarily by name—at Berlin, Göttingen, Bonn, Halle, and Leipzig. But no German university should be willing to have less than one proper chair exclusively dedicated to Oriental studies in addition to chairs for classical philology and for the study of other equally important (languages and) literatures alongside a theological chair for Old Testament exegesis. Ask our philologically skilled theologians, many of whom also have a well-deserved reputation as Oriental scholars, if they honestly believe that they are able to fulfill the requirements of a chair in Oriental studies in its current (wide) delineation. Ask them and you shall find out whether they answer with yes. "Nobody can serve two masters," especially not if each of them requires the entire person; and at a time, when the greatest discoveries on and in the land of Asia require the participation of all scholars, when a German Oriental society set out to introduce joint cooperation for higher aims to our Oriental studies, when numerous German scholars of Oriental studies at home and often abroad uphold and increase the ancient glory of patriotic intellectual proficiency and scholarship; at such a time, would a German university want to deprive the discipline of its independence, [and] to reduce further the already inherently limited prospects of our younger scholars in Oriental studies for an honorable destination and the ultimate gratification for their toil? If a university which is in danger of taking such a misguided decision, has men among its philologists and theologians, who understand the matter, it is—to put it frankly—especially their duty to voice a *videant consules*. (…) Just bring the right man for this discipline to the proper position, but in a full, undivided form, and he will soon establish his own domain even at a small university, and he will attract individual capable students and introduce them not only in traditional fashion by "*rudimenta*" and "*elementa*" to the outer court of Oriental studies, but also by continuous teaching to its inner court and train them (to contribute) to the (discipline's) progress.[49]
>
> (Cited in Preissler 1995: 262–63)

Fleischer takes the philological category of Semitic languages as his point of departure and places them into the Orient, which is presented as more than philology. Semitic languages are not presented alongside the philological category of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. Instead the two main fields of specialization are referred to in rather idiosyncratic, non-technical terms: East and West Asia,[50] which due to the vastness of the fields, require actually two full positions in the form of chairs. At a smaller university which cannot afford two chairs, at least one is absolutely necessary. Fleischer makes sure to stress that his claim of Oriental studies does not challenge the legitimate claims for chairs for classical philology, for the study of other languages (i.e., German, Romance, and English studies), and for Old Testament exegesis (at the faculty of theology). Moreover, he does not argue that a theologian could not also be a professional philologist for Semitic languages. Rather, he claims that Semitic languages are part of the much larger Orient, where the great discoveries are being made, and that a theologian could not possibly keep abreast with the scholarly progress in this fast expanding field of research. Only in a secondary argument, does he point out that a theologian would not be able to teach Oriental languages on the advanced level required for the training of future scholars participating in the huge explorations of the Orient.

The constitution of Oriental studies as philology under the umbrella of the Orient allowed Fleischer to defend the chair for the study of Semitic languages

against the claim raised by theologians, by reference to the prospect for great national glory. The effectiveness of his argument was certainly enhanced by the spectacular finds which Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–84) brought back from his expedition to Egypt (1842–46), and which attracted enormous public attention. Scholars specializing in Semitic languages could also draw support from the coalition that was established in the framework of the *DMG* in affiliation with the convention of philologists for the defense of their positions when these were challenged by scholars of comparative linguistics since mid-century. The latter stressed the European lineage, which entailed an alienation of scholars focusing primarily on India, which were part of the coalition and thus potential allies in the defense of Semitic languages as a legitimate field of specialization.

In conclusion, I suggest that the defense strategies made available by the *DMG* in affiliation with the convention of philologists and the option of finding additional and/or alternative employment as librarians enabled scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages to withstand the challenges of the 1850s and 1860s and to preserve the existing university positions in the field.

Two disciplines: Sanskrit and comparative linguistics—Semitic languages

In the literature, different points in time have been identified as marking the end of the slow-down in the development since mid-century. Mangold sees 1875 as turning point at which further institutional expansion set in as well as the rise of Assyriology (2004: 164). She does not provide any explanation for the change, nor discuss any implications. By contrast, Hanisch argues that the study of Semitic languages had been marginalized since the mid-nineteenth century, while the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics dominated the field, and that scholarly interest in Semitic languages rose again only in the 1880s (2003: 28–29). In her view, this change cannot be explained in terms of a development within the discipline alone, but has to be seen as result of the practical political relations to the Near East. (2003: 29–32).

On the basis of my survey of university appointments (Appendix 3), it appears that a revival began before 1875. In the survey of appointments made between 1850 and 1870, a slight increase in the number of appointments became already visible towards the end of the 1860s, which included the establishment of a chair for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics in addition to the chair for Oriental languages at Munich in 1867. This may have been an exceptional appointment in light of the fact that Martin Haug (1827–76) was one of the very rare scholars at the time who had actually lived in India for several years (Babinger 1957: 254–60; Stache-Rosen 1990: 68–69). The institutional innovation was upheld, however. New appointments were made to both chairs without delay when they became vacant in 1874 and 1876 respectively. Also other universities established new positions since 1870. At Heidelberg, after Adolf Holtzmann's death, his successor Karl Bartsch was appointed to the chair with a new delineation: German and Romance philology (Baumgarten 1997: 37), while Sanskrit and comparative linguistics became established first by an *extraordinarius*, and, since 1872, by a chair.

Moreover, an *extraordinarius* for Oriental languages was added to the existing chair held by Gustav Weil.

At Leipzig, Egyptology was introduced by an *extraordinarius* in 1870, and upgraded to a chair in 1875. A position for an *extraordinarius* for Sanskrit was established in 1871. In 1874, Ludolf Krehl was promoted to a newly established chair for Oriental languages, while Otto Loth was appointed to Krehl's former position as *extraordinarius*. Another position for an *extraordinarius* for Assyriology was established in 1877. The University of Rostock established the first position for an *extraordinarius* of Semitic languages in 1870, which was upgraded to a chair in 1879. At Vienna, a chair for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics existed since 1855, while Semitic languages were only represented by an *extraordinarius* since 1866. A chair was established in 1871, when Eduard Sachau was promoted. In 1874, special institutional arrangements were made for Joseph von Karabaček, first as *extraordinatius* for the history of the Orient and its auxiliary sciences and, since 1885, as *oridinarius*.

In 1872, the University of Strassburg was opened with three new chairs: Semitic languages; Egyptology; and Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. In 1875, two further chairs, one for Sanskrit and one for Hebrew and Iranian philology, were added. In 1873, a chair for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics was established at Jena in addition to the existing chair for Oriental languages. In the same year, a chair for Indo-European languages was established at Graz, while Semitic languages were only introduced by an *extraordinarius* in 1907. In 1874, an *extraordinarius* was added to the chair for Oriental languages at Halle, while such an addition was only made in Sanskrit studies in 1887, after August Pott died. However, an *extraordinarius* for Iranian studies began his work already in 1884. Also in 1874, Gustav Bickell was appointed to a chair for Christian archaeology and Semitic languages at Innsbruck.

In 1875, when according to Mangold the revival started, a separate position for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics (*extraordinarius*) was established at Kiel, which was upgraded to a chair in 1877. In the same year, the position of an *extraordinarius* and an additional chair for Oriental languages were established at Berlin, while at Bonn, Theodor Aufrecht was appointed to the chair which had been vacant since Christian Lassen retired for health reasons in 1868. In 1876, Albert Socin was appointed to the chair at Tübingen, marking a change in orientation away from theological concerns. While the latter remained dominant at Münster, an *extraordinarius* for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics was employed since 1876; a chair for Iranian studies was established in 1885.

In 1877, Oriental philology which had vanished at Würzburg in 1826 was reintroduced by an *extraordinarius* for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. The position was upgraded to a chair in 1886, while the first *extraordinarius* for Semitic languages began his work in 1894. Similarly at Freiburg, an *extraordinarius* for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics was employed since 1878 and promoted to a chair in 1908, while the first *extraordinarius* for Oriental (Semitic) languages worked since 1893. In 1880, Franz Praetorius was appointed to the chair for Oriental languages at Breslau, which had been vacant since the death of Georg Heinrich Bernstein in

1860, and in 1883, an *extraordinarius* was added to the chair for Sanskrit held by Adolf Friedrich Stenzler. Richard von Garbe was promoted to *extraordinarius* for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics at Königsberg in 1880. A chair was established in 1896, in addition to the existing one for Semitic languages.

In 1885, when according to Hanisch the change in the development trend is thought to have occurred in the wake of German political interests in the Middle East, Julius Wellhausen was appointed to a chair with a new delineation: Semitic languages, instead of Oriental languages and early German literature, at Marburg. At Munich, the chair for Oriental languages remained vacant after Ernst Trumpp died in 1885. Instead, Fritz Hommel was employed as *extraordinarius* for Semitic languages. He was promoted to the chair in 1892. An *extraordinarius* for Oriental languages was added at Erlangen in 1891. Other universities such as Giessen, Basel, and Dorpat/Tartu followed the trend in 1898.

In light of these findings, the trend may have started changing before 1875. The change came certainly too early to be seen as a result of German political involvement in the Middle East since the mid-1880s, as Hanisch suggests. Her argument that the renewed institutional expansion cannot be explained by developments within the discipline itself (2003: 29) seems nonetheless valid, considering that also Mangold cannot provide any explanation, although she thoroughly studies the internal development. I suggest seeing the new wave of institutional expansion in Oriental studies as a result of the development of the university as a whole. Student numbers were very low during the 1850s and 1860s. They rose again towards the end of the 1860s, and a major increase occurred after the war of 1870/1. Rising student numbers meant that universities could expand. It was precisely because the German university system was a decentralized one, and because nobody sat down to make a comprehensive plan for further university development (or if someone did, he was in no position to implement it), that the expansion brought the institutionalization of existing trends.

For the discipline of Oriental philology, this entailed the continuation of the process of institutionalization of the differentiation between Semitic languages, and Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. For the latter, the development in the course of the expansion brought a split into three trends. Separate institutional frameworks were established for the studies of German and other modern European languages, which therefore left the framework of comparative linguistics. This may have resulted in the field's loss of importance towards the end of the century, which Hanisch observes (2003: 28). But, of course, the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics did not vanish. Due to developments that will be discussed in the next chapters, the discipline gradually transformed towards the end of the century, following two trends: the study of Indo-European ("Indo-Germanic"/"Aryan") languages and Indian studies (in affiliation with Iranian studies). Only the latter remained fully within the framework of Oriental studies. When the *DMG* was reconstituted after the First World War, the institutional separation into two disciplines found expression in the establishment of two journals, in addition to the *ZDMG*: the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (journal of Indian and Iranian studies), edited by Wilhelm Geiger, and the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* (journal for the study of Semitic languages and related fields), edited by Enno Littmann.

The study of Middle Eastern languages also benefited from the expansion. Maybe more than in other disciplines, "being there" was a major factor contributing to the field's institutional presence in the development since 1870. Beginning with the chair at Strassburg to which Nöldeke was appointed in 1872, the formal institutional delineation focused on the philological category of Semitic languages (Hanisch 2003: 5–6 n. 14), while Turkish and Persian remained part of the repertoire, as did the option of working as librarian. The two strategies which had helped scholars of Middle Eastern languages to overcome the difficulties of the previous period, namely their deliberate integration in "the Orient" and the libraries, became even part of the formal institutional setting.

Although the delineation of the field as Semitic languages became generally accepted, the term Oriental languages did not vanish for the delineation of chairs. Moreover, "Oriental studies" were the most common term used for the institutes, which were established since 1894 (Hanisch 2003: 58). Many institutes included only one chair, which was invariably a chair for Semitic languages. While *Indologie* came to refer to India only, possibly extending to a few adjoining regions, "the Orient" which had Semitic languages in institutional terms at its center, always remained the entire Orient except for those parts that were otherwise institutionally occupied.[51]

Since there was no state exam for Oriental studies, the institutes were not needed for exam preparations. Thus an institute offered the advantage of having a room for teaching small groups of students and a library (in the same room). In light of the small numbers of students in Oriental studies, the classroom was probably not a decisive factor.[52] Therefore, an institute for Oriental studies meant first and foremost a library, formally adding the work of a librarian to the tasks of the *ordinarius* who headed the institute.[53] That may have been the context for which Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) wrote his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (1898, 1902) (on Brockelmann: *DBE* 2: 138; Fück 1958; Spuler 1958; Hanisch 2003: 181; Wassermann 2003: 102; Ellinger 2006: 471–72). Odd as the *GAL* may be as a history of Arabic literature, it certainly qualifies as a librarian's handbook. The discussion in the following two chapters may help to understand why the term "history" might nonetheless have made sense at the time.

6 The emergence of Assyriology

The emergence of Assyriology as a field of specialization marked the second stage in the process of differentiation. Assyriology delineates the study of ancient cultures centered in the Mesopotamian region. In philological terms, it is seen as a sub-discipline of the study of Semitic languages. This chapter will consider the reasons for the emergence of the discipline. In particular, I shall discuss to what extent it can be ascribed to academic developments within the university, or whether it may have been a function of external, non-scholarly factors. Why did a field that hardly existed suddenly become a major field of specialization in institutional terms, while other already traditional fields, e.g., Arabic studies, failed to do so? Why did scholarly interests turn to ancient periods, at a time when German politics developed an interest in the contemporary Middle East? Did the emergence of Assyriology within Oriental philology mirror the transition from classical philology to the study of classical antiquity?

Institutionalization of Assyriology at the time of the German empire

Assyriology is thought to have commenced in 1874/5. Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) was the first scholar who obtained a *Habilitation* in Assyriology (under Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer's supervision) at Leipzig in 1874. A year later, the University of Berlin established a second chair for Oriental languages, which in light of institutionally separate Indian studies referred to languages of the Near East, and appointed Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908). Schrader had held a chair for the study of Old Testament and Semitic languages at Zurich until 1870, then moved to a chair in theology (Old Testament) at Jena. At Berlin, he focused his research and teaching on Assyriology and thus became considered the founder of the discipline at German universities (Fück 1955: 287; Ellinger 2006: 528). The first proper chair of Assyriology was established at Breslau in 1893. Friedrich Delitzsch received the appointment, after he had been *extraordinarius* for Assyriology at Leipzig since 1877. When in 1899, Delitzsch succeeded Schrader at Berlin, that chair was formally redefined as one for Assyriology (*DBE* 2: 477; *NDB* 3: 582; Zimmern 1923; Fück 1955: 172, 261; Babinger 1957: 266; Wassermann 2003: 164, 34 n. 4; Hanisch 2003: 183). In 1900, also the university of Leipzig established a chair, to which Heinrich

Zimmern (1862–1931) was appointed (Hanisch 2003: 212; Wassermann 2003: 84; Weissbach 1931).

In addition, the employment policy at some other universities caused positions formally delineated as dealing with "Semitic languages," to focus on Assyrian studies. The process began with the appointment of Fritz Hommel (1854–1936) as *extraordinarius* at Munich in 1885, and as *ordinarius* in 1892. Hommel was followed by Peter Jensen (1861–1936) at Marburg, as *extraordinarius* in 1892, as *ordinarius* in 1895; and by Carl Bezold (1859–1922) at Heidelberg, as *ordinarius* in 1894. Assyriology thus became a major new trend, extending soon to the universities of Königsberg, Jena, Vienna, Münster and Strassburg. After the First World War, new positions were dedicated to its pursuit at the universities of Greifswald, Innsbruck, Prague, Giessen, Bonn and Göttingen (Appendix 3; on the early stages, see also Mangold 2004: 164–67).

Until the First World War, these new chairs in Assyriology increased the number of available positions by some 20 percent. This was a major development for such a minor discipline as the study of Oriental/Semitic languages. Institutional expansion was not the only indication of its success. In 1884, a new journal was launched, the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* (journal for the study of cuneiform script), renamed to *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* (journal for Assyriology and related subjects) in 1886. Not only was the journal able to survive, but there was even room for another one with a similar field of specialization, namely the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung. Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient und seinen Beziehungen zu den angrenzenden Kulturkreisen*, published in Leipzig since 1898. Despite its all-inclusive subtitle ("monthly for the study of the entire Orient and its relations to neighboring cultures"), the "Orientalist Literature Journal" focused on the study of the ancient Orient, including Assyriology.

In light of the development of the discipline of Oriental studies until the 1870s, the reasons for the emergence of Assyriology as a major sub-discipline are by no means obvious. Modern studies of Oriental languages had been established with a dual focus on India (Indo-European languages) and the Middle East ("Semitic languages"), which can account for the first stage of differentiation, taking full effect since the 1870s. Why should the focus of the newly independent field of "Semitic languages" (which in institutional terms included Turkish and often Persian) shift to the earliest historical periods exactly at a time when the German empire (*Reich*—term for the German state, established in 1871) changed its foreign policy and strove to become one of the great (colonial) powers?

As imperial chancellor (the German equivalent to the position of the Ottoman grand vizier) from 1871 until 1890, Otto von Bismarck (1815–98) firmly adhered to what has been characterized as a foreign policy centered on Europe in combination with a policy of political neutrality in pursuit of German trade interests under the banner of free trade in the rest of the world. That policy began to change for practical reasons in 1884/5, when political-military force was deemed necessary to protect German economic interests in South, West and East Africa, and in the Pacific. After Bismarck resigned in 1890 due to his disagreements with the young

emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918), German foreign policy more overtly aimed at becoming one of the great colonial powers.

These changes affected also Germany's policy towards the Ottoman Empire (Schöllgen 2000). While in the 1870s, some (private) German experts served as advisors to Ottoman government departments, the German government officially provided advisors to assist in the Ottoman army reform in 1883. In 1888, two German bankers received the concession to build the railway from Istanbul to Ankara. In 1889, Wilhelm II came on his first official visit to Abdül Hamid II (r. 1876–1909), which was followed by the signing of a trade agreement and by closer cooperation under the title of German–Ottoman "friendship." After another visit by Wilhelm II in 1898, the German Bank was able to secure the concession for the construction of the railway to Baghdad, which began in 1903. These were not the only policy changes regarding the Middle East. An even more aggressive strategy was adopted towards Morocco since 1898, which led to two major crises in 1905 and 1911. German engagement increased also in Palestine and Egypt, though in much less spectacular fashion (or a systematic overview, see Hanisch 2003: 29–32).

In light of these developments, one might have expected Turkish studies and probably to a lesser degree Arabic studies, both of which were part of the established academic repertoire, to become major fields of interest and to develop into proper sub-disciplines. The establishment of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* (*SOS*) in Berlin in 1887 (Hanisch 2003: 40–45; Mangold 2004: 226–50) shows that the need for trained personnel with pertinent language skills was clearly perceived, especially by the Foreign Ministry and leading members of the government (Hanisch 2003: 41). Initially, the *SOS* offered courses for seven languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Japanese, Hindustani, and Swahili. In the course of time, other East Asian and African languages were added, and even European ones (modern Greek, Russian, Spanish, Rumanian, English, and French). By 1914, twenty-two languages were part of the teaching program (Mangold 2004: 236).

Contrary to what its name (*Seminar*) might suggest, the *SOS* was not part of the University of Berlin. It was conceived as an independent, non-academic teaching institute. Only the position of its director provided a link to the university, since it was held by the *ordinarius* for Oriental languages. Thus Eduard Sachau (1845–1930) became its first director. At that time, Schrader held the second chair for Oriental languages at Berlin, and Albrecht Weber (1825–1901) was *ordinarius* for Sanskrit/Indian studies. Of course, it is arguable that a reform of the discipline at the university would have taken too long in light of the Foreign Ministry's urgent need for interpreters, and that therefore Friedrich Althoff (1839–1909), a senior civil servant in charge of higher education at the Prussian ministry of education, opted for an institutional solution outside the university (Mangold 2004: 226–29).

One may even add that the main group of students, whom the *SOS* was meant to teach, namely interpreters for the Foreign Ministry, other civil servants (e.g., from the postal service) and members of the business community, would have been "out of place" at the faculty of philosophy. Civil servants were not required to have classical high school training (*Gymnasium*), but they often needed to have undergone technical training. If they had received university education, they would usually be graduates in law. Most members of the business community held no university degrees. Moreover, they could be expected to have attended a *Realschule*, rather than a *Gymnasium*. That means that most of the intended trainees could not have enrolled to study Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy.

From the perspective of the ministry, the establishment of the *SOS* outside the university was certainly a reasonable solution. Nonetheless, one may wonder why the discipline did not seize the opportunity for expanding their field of expertise and their potential job market. It is therefore even more striking that at this very point in time, the discipline moved into the opposite direction, away from the contemporary Middle East to early history. Moreover, the same ministry of education that established the *SOS* in 1887 allocated the first proper chair for Assyriology in 1893, at a time when the imperial stage had undoubtedly commenced. Why did Assyriology become the major field of innovation?

Fück, Paret,and Johansen do not discuss the development of Assyriology, because they deal with Arabic and Islamic studies. Both Hanisch and Mangold treat its rise as a side-issue. Hanisch discusses Assyriology, like Arabic studies (2003: 66–67), as a field of specialization within the study of Semitic languages (2003: 67–68). By contrast, Mangold does not include a discussion of the emergence of Assyriology in her investigation of the conceptual development of the discipline of Oriental studies (2004: 103),[1] although she presents an account of the first chairs for Assyriology at German universities in her outline of the institutional development (2004: 164–67). They both suggest that the interest in Assyriology might have its origin in theology, since the new field of research allowed to ask whether the Pentateuch originates from divine revelation or contains a refashioned version of earlier, Assyrian narratives and themes (Hanisch 2003: 67–68; Mangold 2004: 165–66). Marchand presents an even more forceful argument for the thesis of Assyriology's theological origin (Marchand 1996: 220–27). Can theological concerns explain the rise of Assyriology as a new sub-discipline?

There are certainly a number of factors that can support such a thesis. Assyriology made its first major public appearance in 1873. During British excavations, fragments of a Babylonian account of the deluge, i.e., an account that predated the Bible, were found and published in the *Daily Telegraph*, attracting much public attention, also in Germany (Marchand 1996: 223). As mentioned, Eberhard Schrader, who had previously been *ordinarius* for Old Testament at the faculty of theology at Jena, was appointed to the second chair for Oriental languages at Berlin in 1875, where he held lectures on "the results of cuneiform studies with regard the Bible, especially the Old Testament" (Hanisch 2003: 67). That issue was also the topic of Friedrich Delitzsch study, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Where was Paradise?), published in 1881; and Fritz Hommel discussed it in his *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (History of Babylon and Assyria) in 1885 (Marchand 1996: 223).

The most spectacular public debate occurred in 1902 (Marchand 1996: 223–27; Hanisch 2003: 67–68). Delitzsch gave a lecture on "Babel and the Bible" at a meeting of the *Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft* (German Orient Society/*DOG*) in Berlin.[2] Among the audience were not only high-ranking theologians, businessmen, bureaucrats, and army officers, but also the emperor, Wilhelm II. The latter enjoyed the lecture so much that he had Delitzsch give a private repeat performance. In 1903, Delitzsch gave a second, even more provocative, lecture in which he explicitly denied that the Old Testament had its origin in revelation. The high profile of the presentation drew equally high-profile opposition; and Wilhelm II, as the *ex officio* head of the Lutheran Church, was forced to distance himself publicly from Delitzsch's thesis. The theological concern certainly provided an issue for a major public controversy,[3] but can it also account for the establishment of Assyriology as a discipline at the university?

For the strength of her argument, Marchand draws on what seems to be a misperception. She states that "until the later nineteenth century, *Orientalistik* [Oriental studies] was largely limited to the study of Oriental languages and was linked either to the training of travelers (missionaries, entrepreneurs, officials) or to theological pursuits" (1996: 189). In her view, Oriental studies were limited to institutions like the *SOS* and to positions within the faculty of theology.[4] This view does not take into account what is known about Oriental studies during the nineteenth century. The *SOS* was only established in 1887. Though its Austrian counterpart (*Orientalische Akademie*) existed throughout the nineteenth century, it was not considered or even conceived as part of Oriental studies. Moreover, as has been argued above and as Mangold has been shown in great detail, modern chairs in Oriental studies were located at the faculties of philosophy and the discipline's ties to theology had been reduced considerably by the second half of the nineteenth century. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility of theology having an impact on Oriental studies; but such a thesis would have to be supported by less circumstantial evidence.

The only obvious theological link can be found in Schrader's appointment at Berlin in 1875. Apart from his training in Oriental studies, Schrader was indeed also a professional theologian, but his appointment may well have been exceptional and thus no proper part of the emerging discipline. More than any other university, with the exception of Vienna, Berlin had a rather high rate of "idiosyncratic" appointments. Though such practice existed at Berlin, it was perceived as exceptional as is indicated by a clear policy of avoiding institutionalization.[5] One strategy was to open teaching positions below the level of a chair. For example, Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905), whose special interests were informed by his long stay in Damascus (1848–62), was a lecturer (1864–75) (*DBE* 10: 464; Hanisch 2003: 211; Fück 1955: 172, 191; Huhn 1989; Preissler 1995: 247; Goren 2003: 185–92); or Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici (1821–1903) specializing in Arabic language and literature, was first lecturer (1846–50) and then *extraordinarius* (1850–1903) (*NDB* 3: 672–73; *DBE* 2: 528–29; Fück 1955: 172). An alternative strategy was to allow for specialization without adjusting the formal definition of a chair. For example, Wilhelm Schott (1802–89) who specialized in Altaic, Tatar and Finnish

studies was appointed to a chair for Oriental languages in 1838. His appointment is seen as a precursor, but not the beginning of Sinology. Schrader's appointment seems to fit that pattern. If Schrader was merely a precursor, the discipline proper can be seen to have emerged with Friedrich Delitzsch. Did theology provide the impetus for his professional career?

Friedrich Delitzsch studied Oriental languages at Leipzig, Berlin, and Jena, graduated (Ph.D.) in 1873, and received his *Habilitation* for Assyriology at Leipzig in 1874. Delitzsch was also a student of Schrader, while studying at Jena. His other "theological link" was his father, Franz Delitzsch (1813–90), an eminent theologian, who specialized in Christian mission among Jews, took a firm stand against anti-Semitism and vehemently objected to the application of the historical-critical approach to Biblical studies. Though it may be doubtful whether Friedrich Delitzsch's positions in the "Babel–Bible controversy" were actually inspired by theology, they certainly had the tint of the son's rebellion against his father (who had passed away by then). With regard to the emergence of the discipline, chronology seems to challenge the centrality of the theological issue. Delitzsch gave his public lectures after the chair in Berlin was established, and he himself had already been appointed to it. Moreover, by 1905, Delitzsch had made his point, namely he had challenged the Old Testament's origin in revelation. It seems highly unlikely that anybody would have been ready to allocate the considerable resources required to establish an entire discipline, just in order to elaborate on that issue, especially in light of the strong opposition which it provoked.

The connection to theology seems rather doubtful also for the other scholars of the initial phase of Assyriology. Peter Jensen studied Semitic languages, specializing in Assyriology, graduated (Ph.D.) at Berlin (1884) and received his *Habilitation* at Strassburg in 1889 (Hanisch 2003: 192). Though he had initially considered studying medicine and then theology, Fritz Hommel actually studied classical philology and Sanskrit at Leipzig. Then he changed to Semitic languages in which he graduated (Ph.D.) at Leipzig in 1874. He was Delitzsch's first student in Assyriology. After graduation, Hommel worked at the library at Munich. In 1877, he obtained his *Habilitation* for Semitic languages at Munich and was promoted to *extraordinarius* (1885), and then *ordinarius* (1892) (*DBE* 5: 164; *NDB* 9: 591–92; Fück 1955: 172, 317; Babinger 1957: 264–67; Hanisch 2003: 191). Carl Bezold studied Semitic languages at Munich, Strassburg, and Leipzig. He graduated with a work on epigraphy at Leipzig (1880) and received his *Habilitation* for Semitic languages at Munich in 1883. He became the editor of the journal for Assyriology (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*) in 1886, a position which he held until 1922. After he had worked at the British Museum (1888–93), Bezold was appointed to the chair for Semitic languages at Heidelberg in 1894 (*DBE* 1: 509; *NDB* 2: 212–13; Zimmern 1923; Fück 1955: 318; Babinger 1957: 258–59, 268; Hanisch 2003: 180; Ellinger 2006: 468).

None of these career paths provides any reason to assume that the interest in Assyriology was caused by any particular influence of theology. On the conceptual level, it seems also unlikely that such an interest should have emanated from among theologians. Searching for Assyrian precedents to the Bible necessarily entails

calling its unique status into question, i.e., the uniqueness on which all positions including the chairs at the faculty of theology are premised. Thus theologians would inevitably challenge their own legitimacy. It is hard to believe that they volunteered to do so.[6] Even the possibility of theological specialists for the New Testament adopting such a strategy in their rivalry with specialists for the Old Testament seems rather slim, since it would have been a truly daring strategy in light of the uncertain historicity of the New Testament.[7] It therefore seems more likely that Assyriology developed outside theology and that, only at a later stage, could its findings raise theological issues and challenge theology.

In 1942, Johannes Friedrich (1893–1972) employed that chronological order in his account of the discipline's development (Friedrich 1944). He held that, despite some earlier scholarly efforts, the discipline began properly with the work of Henry Rawlinson (1810–95), a British officer in the service of the East Indian Company. Due to his employment in India and the Middle East, Rawlinson had the opportunity to collect sources which allowed deciphering cuneiform scripts. Rawlinson's scholarly achievements and the finds of the numerous excavations undertaken in Mesopotamia gave British scholars the lead in Assyriology since the 1830s, followed by French scholars, who were also able to make excavations (1944: 59). Until 1870, German scholars did not show any interest in the new discipline, because it required not only scholarly enthusiasm but also major financial resources. Schrader made the first probing into the new field, though at that point it was already an established discipline ("*eine fertige Wissenschaft*"), which merely lacked philological refinement. Building on Schrader's beginnings, it was the work of Delitzsch and his students to develop the philological side of the discipline (1944: 60). In the 1870s, German scholars worked on their own, and then cooperated closely with American scholars in the 1880s. Since 1900, German Assyriologists made major advances, especially due to their huge excavation projects, and thus were able to take the lead internationally by 1914 (1944: 60–61). Friedrich observed another change since 1900. The first generation of German Assyriologists under Delitzsch's lead are thought to have had a particularly close relationship to theology and the Old Testament. The Babel–Bible controversy is cited as the central piece of evidence. By 1904/5, however, the hold of Biblical studies over Assyriology had been broken, and Assyriology was able to focus on its own agenda.[8] In the rest of the essay, Friedrich sketched the development of the discipline which pursued the study of the Assyrian part of the ancient Orient without limiting itself to philological issues.

Friedrich's rendering thus suggests that the theological concerns were quite coincidental, not part of Assyriology's *raison d'être*. It seems that Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) shared that view, when in 1914 he characterized the Babel–Bible controversy as a populist episode at the periphery of the scholarly rediscovery of the ancient Orient.[9] Moreover, Friedrich's account shows that Assyriology took its origin in (British) excavations since the 1830s. Since the 1870s, German scholars, trained philologists, participated in the philological evaluation of the finds. At the turn of the century a major change occurred: German excavations projects were organized and the scholarly interest went beyond philology. What

made philologists, who had previously quite often not even visited the Middle East, take up the spade? What motivated them to go beyond the philological framework of inquiry? Last, but not least, how was it possible to raise the huge financial resources required for such excavations?

The museum and archaeological excavations as national-imperial projects

Despite her misperception of Oriental studies, Marchand's study may provide an answer to these questions. Though not intended as a disciplinary history, Marchand traces the emergence and development of archaeology. She shows that an archaeological line of inquiry became an option due to the public interest in Greek art aroused by Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), that provided the major impetus for the focus on classical antiquity in the German neo-humanist tradition, and to Friedrich August Wolf's concept of the study of antiquity as delineated in his *Darstellung der Alterthums-Wissenschaft* (1807), which found support from Wilhelm von Humboldt. Despite these favorable conditions, however, classical studies were established at modern German universities as a philological discipline under the lead of Gottfried Hermann. In the course of that development all archaeological pursuits were sidelined, if not excluded since 1820 (1996: 3–51).[10] Archaeology found an institutional refuge outside the university at the international institute for archaeological correspondence in Rome, which was founded in 1829 under Prussian auspices (1996: 51–65). As has been argued in Chapter 4 above, the establishment of classical studies as philology opened the way, even created, a need for the study of Oriental languages within the framework of the faculty of philosophy.

Philology was the dominant orientation throughout the nineteenth century until about 1890. Since the 1870s, a trend toward reorientation became apparent in the work of two quite influential classical philologists, namely Hermann Usener and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. In this context, August Boeckh's lecture, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften* (1877) was published for the first time. By 1890, classical studies transformed from philology to the study of classical antiquity which included archaeology as one of its constitutive elements. According to Marchand, this transformation cannot be explained as a development within the discipline itself. Much rather, the impetus for change is seen to have come from outside, even from outside the university. The development of the museum in the context of the quest for national and imperial glory is thought to have played a central role among those external factors (1996: 65–74).[11]

In the eighteenth century, museums as institutions for publicly displaying objects were not a common phenomenon. Instead, members of the ruling families held private collections (1996: 65). The concept of public displays emerged first with regard to the natural sciences. These museums tended to be personal projects, which were usually not able to outlast the death of their founders. Since about 1800, a new concept of the museum emerged transforming it into a national project (1996: 38–39). The first museum of this kind was opened in Berlin in 1798, when

Friedrich Wilhelm III (r. 1797–1840) used the Monbijou Palace for the display of "national" antiquities (1996: 165). The idea of representing local-national sentiment (and victory over French occupation) inspired the opening of a museum for Rhenish and Westphalian antiquities in Bonn in 1820. The latter was not to last, however. Prussian state funding ceased in 1822 (1996: 165–66).

Already in 1820, a new concept of what a museum was supposed to display emerged, namely the artistic achievements of classical antiquity (1996: 167). In this new spirit, the architect Karl Friedrich von Schinkel (1781–1841) embarked on the planning of a museum in Berlin which he conceived as a "temple" dedicated to the worship of art (1996: 67). After eight years of construction, it was opened in 1830. The museum in Berlin was part of a wider trend: the *Akademische Kunstmuseum* in Bonn (1827) (1996: 67), and similar displays of classical art in Bavaria (1829); Württemberg (1843), Baden (1846), and Saxony (1855) (Marchand 1996: 166). The collection and display of classical antiquities began in German states at a time when prices for such items rose considerably on the international market, especially due to British and French demand, while Prussia and Bavaria had to face severe financial difficulties. In light of these limitations, museums in German states adopted the poor man's solution: they bought only antiquities that were cheap and otherwise relied on plaster casts (1996: 65–66).

In the eighteenth century, casts were used for teaching purposes at universities. The idea to place them in a museum was first implemented in Bonn. In its beginning, the *Akademische Kunstmuseum* was based on a collection of art works, rare plants and animal specimens. Since French forces had confiscated that collection during the Napoleonic wars and failed to return it, a collection of plaster cast copies was put on display instead (1996: 67 n. 90). Other museums followed the example set in Bonn, and plaster casts became very fashionable, especially from mid-century onward. A survey in 1909 found 109 cast collections in Germany, some of which comprised several thousand items (1996: 112). The cast was a particularly attractive solution, because it was not only cheap (or at least, much cheaper than an original), but it was quite suitable for copying sculptures, which were perceived as the apex of artistic achievement in classical antiquity and therefore became the focus of German interest. Until about 1870, museums were intended primarily to provide an aesthetic experience. Pure white casts were seen to serve that purpose well (1996: 66–67, 112).

At the same time, the use of casts opened the option for an alternative arrangement of displays. During the planning stage of the museum in Berlin, which Schinkel built, also a historical arrangement of the display was considered, but the idea was dropped, because the holdings were thought to leave too many gaps. With the introduction of casts, a process of reorganization set in, gradually moving towards a historical ordering (1996: 67–68). The trend was even more evident in the "new museum" (*Neues Museum*), built by August von Stüler (1800–65), which opened in 1859, and thus turned Schinkel's building into the "old museum" (*Altes Museum*). Its entire first floor was occupied by a historically arranged cast collection (1996: 68). The historical arrangement, however, drew attention to the inferiority of plaster casts in comparison with original antiquities, found in the

holdings of the British Museum and the Louvre, giving rise to the conviction that originals had to be acquired (1996: 166, 192).

In light of the German focus on classical antiquity, it may be rather surprising that the first expedition, for which the Prussian government provided considerable funding,[12] was one to Egypt and the Sudan (1842–45), headed by Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–84). At that time, Egyptology was not taught at the university. Lepsius' request for employment at Berlin had been turned down in 1842, with the argument that there was no need for such a discipline. However, an Egyptian museum existed at the Monbijou Palace since 1828. Its holdings consisted of a private collection donated by Heinrich Menu von Minutoli (1772–1846), a Prussian officer, who acquired these artifacts while he was in Egypt (1820–21) as head of a Prussian "archaeological" expedition (1996: 62 n. 79). In 1842, Lepsius was sent on his expedition in order to make acquisitions for the Egyptian museum (1996: 62–63). Lepsius' venture was extremely successful. Not only was he able to bring an impressive collection to Berlin, but also his travel reports and his finds arose enormous public interest.

In light of his fame, the University of Berlin did not object when the Prussian king appointed Lepsius to a newly established chair of Egyptology in 1846. It was one of the idiosyncratic appointments at Berlin and did not yet signal the rise of a new discipline (Marchand 1996: 189).[13] For Lepsius himself, the university appointment was only one step in his career. The collection, which he brought back from Egypt, was first displayed at the Monbijou Palace and then moved to the basement of the New Museum (Marchand 1996: 62 n. 79). At the same time, Lepsius became one of the two directors of the museum and was its sole director since 1865. In 1867, he acquired an additional position, namely the presidency of the institute for archaeological correspondence in Rome. In 1873, he was appointed head librarian of the royal library in Berlin. In short, Lepsius became one of the very few "powerful scholar-bureaucrats, whose public lectures drew enormous crowds" (1996: 49).

Lepsius' glamorous career surely inspired the imagination of other scholars, hoping for similar success. But for classicists, members the leading discipline at the faculty of philosophy, this was not easily achieved. Not only had the emphasis on philology sidelined archaeology, but also the options for places to which one could go for the acquisition of antiquities were rather limited at the time. Traveling was not widespread. When Germans traveled to the Mediterranean region, this was usually a trip to Italy. Due to the nationalist tidings of the *Risorgimento*, however, German excavations in Italy were not an option. By contrast, Greece became a destination for German travelers only since the 1880s (1996: 92). Thus it is not surprising that a proposal for an excavation project in Greece was made by one of the very few scholars who had actually been there, namely the philologist Ernst Curtius (1814–96), who had worked as private tutor in Athens for several years (1836–40) (1996: 77–80).[14]

Inspired by Lepsius' success, Curtius, who taught classical philology at Berlin since 1844, was member of the Prussian academy of sciences and had very close ties to the Prussian court,[15] outlined his idea of excavating Olympia in a

well-attended public lecture in 1852 and shortly afterwards submitted a formal proposal to the Foreign and Education Ministries with the request for permission and funding. Located in the very heartland of classical Greek culture, the center of German *Bildung*, the Olympia project held an obvious attraction which Curtius boosted by giving it a scholarly flare. Not only would the dig unearth a most spectacular collection of artifacts and valuable inscriptions, but it would be the first one to be undertaken in a systematic, truly scholarly manner in Greece outside Athens (Marchand 1996: 80–81). The Prussian embassy in Athens opened negotiations for the permits required. Progress was slow due to the obstacles posed by the monument-protection law in Greece and came to a hold in the wake of the Crimean war. For quite some time, the project was not pursued any further for both political as well as financial considerations (1996: 81–82).

In 1856, Curtius moved to a chair of classical philology including archaeology (*Realien*) at Göttingen. He returned to the University of Berlin in 1868. While on route to the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Prussian crown prince visited King George I (r. 1863–1913) in Athens and used the opportunity for reopening negotiations over the permits for Prussian excavations at Olympia. The main stumbling block was still the Greek protection law. The establishment of the German state/empire (*Reich*) in 1871 provided a basis for national projects, including archaeological ones. The institute for archaeological correspondence in Rome was transformed into the German archaeological institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut/DAI*) and its headquarters moved to Berlin. The negotiations in Athens were finally concluded in 1874. Curtius was to head the excavation of Olympia as a project of the *DAI*, which opened a branch in Athens in 1875 (1996: 84). From the beginning, it was a muted victory: German scholars were allowed to undertake a systematic excavation of an entire area, and the German government would cover the costs. However, all finds from the dig were to remain in Greece, while Germany received plaster casts only (1996: 82–84).

From 1875 until 1878, the excavation brought to light a much greater wealth of artifacts than anybody could have hoped for. In this sense, it succeeded to make a major contribution to scholarship. But it failed in one very important respect. No great monuments or sculptures were found that could attract the interest and enthusiasm of the German public. The German state thus paid a lot of money to obtain more plaster casts, instead of original antiquities for its museum and, in the eyes of the German public, there was not even anything spectacular among the casts (1996: 84–91). It may be doubtful whether the German government would actually have agreed to the project, had it not been for the frenzied public fascination with the latest achievements in archaeology of the adventurer-robber variety, which in that case even had a German angle.

Heinrich Schliemann (1822–90) was a German national, who rose from humble origins to great wealth as businessman in California. He then set out to dig up the historical Troy, the existence of which seemed rather unlikely according to scholarly opinion at the time. In 1868, Schliemann began his excavations at Hassarlık without Ottoman permission. The permission was granted only in 1871. By that time, he had actually found what he and contemporary observers believed

to be the historical Troy. In violation of Ottoman export regulations, he sent all his finds to his house in Athens and began negotiations for their display at Berlin (1996: 118–20). The German public was thrilled, but scholars of classical antiquity were not. Not only was Schliemann an outsider, with no scholarly credentials, but his finds seemed unacceptable. Although extremely impressive, the artifacts appeared to be of "Asian" character, without any resemblance to what classicists considered to be the refined Greek style (1996: 121–22). Prejudice concerning the uniqueness of Greek art was certainly a major reason for the clash. It may also have been due to the fact that, as was discovered later, Schliemann had excavated well beneath the level of historical Troy (1996: 122–24). In light of classical scholars' opposition to his finds, Schliemann turned to Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) in 1875, who was a leading member of a circle that tried to promote the study of anthropology and prehistory (1996: 121). Thus Schliemann's collection came eventually to be displayed at the ethnographic museum, when it opened in Berlin in 1886 (1996: 70).

The enormous public attention that Schliemann's finds received may well have spurred the German government into the excavation of Olympia. By the same token, the collection of plaster casts gained at Olympia could not compete with the collection of real antiquities obtained by Schliemann (1996: 95–96), who—as one of his scholarly opponents observed in 1876—"demolishes everything Roman and Greek, in order to lay bare the Pelasgian walls" (1996: 120–21). Thus Schliemann's ventures also drew attention to the option for obtaining relics of classical antiquity in Asia Minor (1996: 189–90). In light of the Greek protection law for antiquities, the situation in the Ottoman Empire seemed much more favorable. According to Ottoman regulations, the finds of an excavation were to be split equally between the excavator, the owner of the land on which the items were found, and the Ottoman government (1996: 94 n. 61). As the activities of European excavators and treasure hunters further increased, the Ottoman government adopted a protection law in 1884 that resembled the Greek one, according to which all finds became state property (1996: 201). In practice, however, considerable room existed for negotiations over alternative arrangements on the official and not-so-official levels, as well as for the option of outright plunder. In this setting, the diplomacy of archaeology and antiquities developed which Marchand traces in most fascinating detail (1996: 188–220).

In 1878, the first major German excavation project on the territory of the Ottoman Empire began at Pergamum. On behalf of the *DAI*, Carl Humann (1839–96), a German engineer who had worked in Ottoman services and suggested the project already in 1871, led the dig, which lasted until 1886. It was later followed by a second one (1901–15), and a third round began in 1933 (1996: 93–95). The Pergamum project was a great success. Most importantly, for the ministry and the museum, the project brought an enormous collection to Berlin, where a new museum exclusively devoted to the Pergamum treasures was opened in 1902 (1996: 95–96). The Pergamum excavation marked the transition to a very aggressive acquisition policy pursued by the royal museums in Berlin, especially by Richard Schöne (1840–1922), who was general director from 1880 until 1905

(1996: 72–74), and his successor Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929) who remained in office until 1920. The museum's policy was backed by very wide public support, by official circles, especially the ministry of education, and by leading members of the court, including the emperor. The possession of antiquities became to be seen as essential paraphernalia of the empire (1996: 208, 219–20).

This was not the only transition. At Pergamum, a new concept for excavations was introduced by Alexander Conze (1831–1914), the general secretary of the *DAI* since 1881. Instead of uncovering ancient artwork, excavations were supposed to achieve a comprehensive study of the "physiognomy" of each site and gather all material that might be used to reconstruct everyday life at the time. Archaeological inquiry entered a process of being transformed from an aesthetic pursuit to a historical one (1996: 97–98). The ensuing need for accurate dating and authentication reinforced the focus on ordinary objects, since these could more easily be submitted to that type of inquiry than monumental sculptures (1996: 112). Moreover, the professional perspectives of engineers and architects, who were leading members of excavation teams since Pergamum, contributed to a shift of attention from artwork to more "ordinary" issues such as measurements, building material and construction techniques (1996: 112–14).

The concern for dating especially of ordinary objects favored the adoption of a typology based on style. That line of inquiry had been pioneered by Heinrich Brunn (1822–94), an associate of the institute for archaeological correspondence in Rome and since 1864 *ordinarius* of classical studies at Munich. His attempts to trace the translation of mythological characters into the "language" of artistic form paved the way for the elaboration of a historical sequence of forms without the aid of texts. His method was based on the assumption that styles would remain within national boundaries, which excluded the possibility of universal norms and turned art forms necessarily into essentialized *mentalités* (1996: 110–11). He thus provided a conceptual basis that would allow searching/digging for material manifestations of the structures that had been established by comparative language studies. In other words, philological findings (e.g., language families) could now be translated into the realm of material cultural history, which eased the shift from the study of language to that of territorial culture.

The Pergamum project marked yet another transition. What was excavated with enormous success in terms of historical artifacts was not a classical Greek city, but a Hellenistic one, providing a historical link between Athens and Rome (1996: 95–96). In this sense, it did not leave the Greek and Roman world, but it paved the way for further expansion into "the Orient." Excavations on German territory gave an even stronger impulse towards the dissolution of archaeology's borders. Due to the fact that parts of the territory of the German state had not been under Roman rule, archaeological pursuits, initiated locally, inevitably introduced the "barbarians" to national history (1996: 152–87).

Approximately at the same time, also classical philology underwent a major transition. As was discussed in Chapter 2, public pressure for a reform of the high-school system had mounted since the 1870s and in particular in the late 1880s. A wide coalition, joined by the emperor in his opening address to the school

conference in 1890, had formed to demand a substantial reduction, possibly even the elimination of classical studies from high-school education to the benefit of less strenuous, and more useful subjects. Classical philology seems to have come rather close to losing the battle. It was saved by archaeology (Marchand 1996: 142–43). Brunn took again the lead in his rector's address in 1885. He argued that philology trains the ear, but proper education requires also the schooling of the eye. Pupils need to acquire a feeling for forms and space by learning to draw and by learning perception (*Anschauung*) with the help of photographs and models. He argued that archaeology can teach this essential mode of understanding. In support of his claim he published an illustrated school text book on Greek and Roman sculpture (1996: 143–46).

Conze (*DAI*) adopted Brunn's idea and began to organize teaching material and workshops on archaeology and instruction at the *Gymnasium*, clearly designed to aid the defense of classical studies against its critics (1996: 146–47). Since the late 1880s, the *DAI* in cooperation with the ministry of education and the museum organized a program of short courses in archaeology for high-school teachers. Soon Baden, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria followed the example. Since 1891, the *DAI* organized trips to Italy, Greece, and later Asia Minor for such teachers. The *DAI* offered grants for that purpose since 1893, and even steamboat tickets at half price since 1908 (1996: 147). These measures helped considerably to revive the interest in classical studies, but the assistance came at a price: the transition from classical philology to the study of classical antiquity. Thus the public interest in archaeological finds was decisive for reviving the interest in classical Rome and Greece. At the same time, the popularization of archaeology that accompanied the revival certainly also enhanced public demand for further archaeological acquisitions.

Excavations and the rise of Assyriology

In the 1880s, a rather diverse range of German organizations initiated archaeological exploration projects in the Near East, with varying degrees of state funding. In the mid-1880s, for example, an association was formed for the purpose of the "exploration of the ruins of the ancient Orient" (*Comité behufs Erforschung der Trümmerstätten des Alten Orients*), often referred to as the *Orient Comité*. It was based on private funds which were among others used for several expeditions to Northern Syria (1888–1902). It then sold the antiquities collected to the museum in Berlin at rather steep prices (Marchand 1996: 192–93). Since 1890, the emperor himself saw to it that the state became the major source of funding and that the financial resources allocated for archaeological projects increased substantially. As Marchand observes:

> Excavations were undertaken in a great many sites, funded by numerous state-affiliated agencies including the DAI, the Prussian Landtag, the academy of sciences, the royal museums, the DOG, and the Kaiser himself. A partial list of the major efforts would include the following digs: Miletus, Baalbek,

> Pergamum (recommenced in 1901), Kos, Boghazkoi (ancient Hattusa), Didyma, Samos, Borsippa, Far and Abu-Hatab, Ash Shargāt (ancient Assur), Babylon, Axum, Abusir, Jericho, Tel El Amarna, and Warka (ancient Uruk). It is impossible to reckon the total costs of the undertakings to the German state, but a rough idea can be garnered from Wiegand's (conservative) estimate that between about 1899 and 1913, more than 4 million marks in public and private fund had been devoted to digs in Asia Minor.[16]
>
> (Marchand 1996: 195–96)

By the mid-1890s, demands had been raised for German excavations in Mesopotamia. These were made in scholarly circles by the aspiring Assyriologists in conjunction with archaeologists in search for locations suitable for systematic excavations of large areas. Also the German consul in Baghdad repeatedly requested the Foreign Ministry to send German archaeologists to Mesopotamia, in order to prevent what he perceived as a British and French takeover (1996: 194). The concerns were further heightened by the French–Persian agreement, which gave French archaeologists exclusive excavation rights for the entire country in exchange for a single, relatively minor down payment of 50,000 francs.

In 1897, a committee for the archaeological exploration of the Euphrates and Tigris regions (*Kommission für die archäologische Erforschung der Eurphrat-und Tigrisländer/KaEET*) was established, with Richard Schöne as president. Among its members were Conze (*DAI*), Eduard Sachau, Hermann Diels (1848–1922; Greek philology), and Adolf Erman (1854–1937; Egyptology). The committee called for sending an informal reconnaissance expedition to the region and for the immediate diplomatic efforts to secure German excavation rights for the entire *vilayet* of Mosul. A member of the *Orient Comité*, Dr. James Simon, funded the survey which was undertaken during the winter of 1897/8 by a team under the leadership of Sachau and Robert Koldewey (1855–1925), an architect who had excavated minor sites since the early 1880s (1996: 209; Ellinger 2006: 500).

In 1898, members of the financial, political and cultural elite in Berlin (including Simon) founded the German Orient society (*DOG*). In the statement of purpose, Babylonian and Assyrian culture were said to be thoroughly studied by Anglo-Saxon scholars and well represented in the collections of British and other European museums, whereas Germany had failed to keep up with the developments. The society was meant to counter the deficiency by promoting the acquisition of Assyrian and Babylonian artifacts (Marchand 1996: 196–97). By the end of 1898, the *DOG* had organized a group of excavators headed by Koldewey for Babylon (Andrae 1952). The project was carried through without interruption and in great intensity (with 200 to 250 workers at a time) until 1917. Already by 1902, large sections of the city wall had been unearthed, and all fragments of the tiled Ishtar gate facade (some 600 crates) had been shipped to Berlin in complete breach of Ottoman regulations (Marchand 1996: 210–11). Due to deteriorating German–Ottoman relations on matters of antiquities, no further shipments of finds could be made from the site. The entire collection was impounded by the British in 1917 and handed over to Berlin in 1926 (1996: 217–19). Although the first finds, sent in 1902, were impressive, the *DOG*, the museum and the academy of sciences were not satisfied and turned their attention to another project (1996: 114, 210–11).

After drawing so much public attention with his lecture on "Babel and the Bible," Friedrich Delitzsch submitted a call for excavations of ancient Assur to the emperor urging immediate action to forestall Ottoman concessions to British and/or French archaeologists. In 1903, excavations at Assur began as a *DOG* project. Headed by the architect Walter Andrae (1875–1956), the dig continued for eleven years (1903–14), employing an average of 180 to 200 workers (1996: 211–12; Andrae 1961; Ellinger 2006: 462). When the excavation was finally declared complete, the shipment of the German share in the finds (some 600 crates) was delayed due to a German–Ottoman disagreement. The difficulties could be overcome with great efforts, and the shipment left from Basra to be impounded in Portugal in 1915. Part of the finds remained in Porto, while the rest reached Berlin in 1926, together with the finds from Babylon. They were put on display in 1934 (Marchand 1996: 217–19).

The initial question concerning the emergence of Assyriology as a discipline may now be reconsidered in light of these developments. I suggest considering the perspective of a young scholar of Oriental languages specializing in the Near East, rather than India, in the early 1870, who dreams of having a successful career. Lepsius' example may certainly have drawn attention to the potentials of Egyptology. That choice may not have been a bad one at all, as is illustrated by Georg Moritz Ebers (1837–98) who was appointed to the newly established chair at Leipzig in 1875 (*DBE* 2: 676; *NDB* 4: 249–50; Goren 2003: 48). Egypt also became a popular site for excavations, even so much so that the German Foreign Ministry saw it fit to establish a "general consulate" for archaeology in Cairo in 1899. In 1907, this "consulate" officially became the Institute for Egyptology (*Institut für ägyptische Altertumskunde*); and in 1928, it was placed under the administration of the *DAI* (Kaiser 1982; Marchand 1996: 195–96).

Considering that a scholar of Oriental languages specializing in the Near East could be expected to have received training with particular emphasis on Semitic languages (plus Turkish and Persian), Egyptology does not appear to be the most obvious choice. By contrast, Assyriology could be seen as an extension of the basic qualification. Moreover, the early 1870s were a time, when, after passing through a "national" phase, since Latin was replaced by local languages, scholarship took again a turn towards increased international cooperation, as is reflected by the institution of regular international Orientalist congresses since 1873 (Hanisch 2003: 76). For a young German scholar considering Oriental studies in Europe at the time, Assyriology was surely "the hottest show in town"—with one complication: it was not yet "in town." In light of the development of the field in England and, to a lesser degree, in France, Assyriology could be expected to rise in Germany as well, and the excavation of antiquities which it entailed had the potential for great public appeal, as Schliemann's success had just demonstrated.

These prospects provided an incentive to specialize in the new field. But how could scholars interested in the field, explain the relevancy of their pursuit to their

potential employers? Why should the university want to employ a scholar who specializes in a field that may be needed some time in the future? Would it have sufficed for employment that a scholar was qualified to evaluate the holdings of the British Museum? By contrast, raising the "theological issue" did provide an argument in support of Assyriology's relevancy for the German context at the time. This would suggest that it was a marketing strategy that could be dropped, as soon as German excavations in Mesopotamia were on their way and yielded the first finds. Delitzsch's career seems to reflect such considerations most clearly. He held his "Babel–Bible" lecture at a meeting of the *DOG*, and he use the public attention which he attracted with it, in order to obtain support and funds for the excavation of Assur.

Delitzsch certainly aspired to prominence and fame, and he was able to realize his aspiration. But Assyriology also offered advantages to less daring scholars, especially with regard to employment opportunities. Excavations provided temporary employment that enhanced professional qualification and allowed scholars with limited or even no independent means to travel to the Middle East. Moreover, work opportunities outside the university were created at museums and related institutions. For example, the royal museum in Berlin underwent far-reaching reorganization under Schöne. Between 1880 and 1905, the number of departments increased from six to seventeen, and by 1905, some 50 scholars with civil-service rank were employed (Marchand 1996: 72–73). Similarly, Conze reorganized the *DAI* in the 1880s. Instead of relying on volunteers, the institute hired professionally trained personnel with the status of salaried bureaucrats (1996: 100–101). Of course, only a small number of the new positions were open to Assyriologists. But even a few positions meant a bonus for scholars of Oriental studies who had hardly any professional employment opportunities outside the university, especially during periods of academic "overcrowding" (see Chapter 2).[17] Delitzsch's career again provides an illustration. When he was appointed to the new chair of Assyriology at Berlin in 1899, he became also director of the Near Eastern section of the royal museum. The effect of positions at museums can be even clearer observed in the rise of the study of Islamic art. As the career of Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) illustrates, the field first developed at the museum, greatly boosted by the enormous public interest in the Islamic art exhibition at Munich in 1910, and entered the university only much later (*DBE* 8: 520; Kühnel 1950; Fück 1955: 291–92; Hanisch 2003: 204).

Considering that modern Oriental studies emerged as an auxiliary discipline to classical philology, Assyriology might appear as an imitation of the study of classical antiquity. In other words, Oriental philology might seem to have followed the lead of classical philology. In light of the discussion above, such an assumption might be questionable. The impetus for change came from outside the university. Institutionally, the development was located at the museum that came to be conceived not only as representing national and imperial glory, but also, even more importantly, as holding the material evidence thereof: valuable ancient artifacts, seen as the spoils of colonial power. The need to acquire these objects necessitated excavations, which opened the way for archaeology. It was archaeology that

transformed both classical philology and Oriental philology of antiquity. While the former adopted the change due to the threat of a school reform, the latter volunteered.

Seen from another angle, it can be said that, while time was discovered as a decisive factor at about 1800, territory seems to have been discovered a century later, possibly due to the experience of Germany as a territorial state and to the territorial division of the world in the framework of the colonial system. Archaeology not only provided the means to unearth priced historical artifacts, but it also widened the concept of culture and attached it to territory. The latter aspect transformed classical philology into the study of classical antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*), and Assyriology from a philological line of inquiry to the study of Assyrian cultures (*Altorientalistik*).

7 Islamic studies

The emergence of a (sub-)discipline?

A third development towards specialization has been widely discussed in the literature, namely the emergence of Islamic studies. From the perspective of historical accounts that focus on the development of Middle East studies, the rise of Islamic studies is perceived as the first proper innovation, signaling a departure from the philological tradition of grammar-oriented studies of classical language, lexicography, and text editions that had characterized the field throughout the nineteenth century. Also the "Orientalism" debate may have contributed to the appeal of the topic. Under the umbrella of Islamic studies, a scholarly interest in the modern Middle East appeared for the first time during the (relatively short) period, in which the German state actually pursued a colonial/imperialist policy. Institutionally, Islamic studies did not become a proper discipline, and scholarly interest in the contemporary Middle East declined after the First World War, i.e., after Germany lost its colonial holdings. The possible interrelation between the discipline and politics thus becomes an obvious issue for investigation (e.g., Johansen 1990: 87–90; Mangold 2004: 273–78). Moreover, Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), who is seen as the leading advocate of Islamic studies, was not only a scholar pursuing a career at the university, but also entered the political arena with success. He worked at the ministry of education, became parliamentary secretary and even served as Prussian minister of education and culture, 1921, 1925–30 (*DBE* 1: 376; *NDB* 1: 711; Ritter 1937 and 1963; Schaeder 1950; Fück 1955: 318–19; Wende 1959; Waardenburg 1963; van Ess 1980; Hanisch 1992a, 1992b, 2003: 179; Haridi 1995; Ellinger 2006: 465–66; Irwin 2006: 198–99). The story of Islamic studies seems to have all the ingredients for a text-book illustration of Said's thesis according to which political colonial aspirations influence scholarly pursuits.[1]

The discussion here will consider whether the story may have been more complex than it seems on first sight. This option arises primarily because, upon closer inspections, the field of Islamic studies appears to have been much less tangible than the discussion in the literature suggests. The investigation will begin with a survey of the institutional manifestations of Islamic studies, namely chairs and other teaching positions for the field established at universities. The positions found in the survey appear not to be directly linked to any colonial project. Moreover, their very small number even raises the question whether a (sub-)discipline of Islamic studies actually existed. As a next step, the literature on

the history of Middle East studies will be reviewed. Instead of providing an answer, the accounts presented in literature will be shown to raise further questions. There is no consensus regarding the definition of Islamic studies, the story of the field's rise and development, or its precise relation to the discipline of Oriental studies. The discussion will conclude with an outline of an alternative interpretation that places the phenomenon of "Islamic studies" into the context of the development of the discipline of Oriental studies as I present it in this study.

Survey of the institutional manifestations of Islamic studies

Institutionally, Islamic studies differ from the other fields of specialization discussed so far. While the study of Sanskrit and of Semitic languages could belong to a chair or other position formally defined as dealing with the study of Oriental languages, there existed (in gradually increasing numbers) also chairs and other positions specifically dedicated to either the study of Sanskrit or that of Semitic languages. The same holds true for Assyriology. Especially at the beginning, the field could be part of the study of Semitic languages. Later, chairs were established which were meant to deal exclusively with Assyriology. By contrast, not a single chair for Islamic studies only was established during the period under investigation, i.e., until the end of the Second World War (see Appendix 3).

Only two scholars held positions for Islamic studies below the level of a chair. Richard Hartmann (1881–1965) was *extraordinarius* at Leipzig (1918–22) and Franz Babinger (1891–1967) held a position for Islamic studies at Berlin, first as lecturer (1921–24) and then as *extraordinarius* (1924–34). After Babinger's dismissal in 1934 (*DBE* 1: 233; Grimm 1998; Hanisch 2003: 178; Ellinger 2006: 463), the university did not hire anybody else instead, nor did the university of Leipzig after R. Hartmann moved to Königsberg in 1922. Considering that Babinger had not been promoted in the course of ten years, and that R. Hartmann was willing to move without promotion (he was appointed *extraordinarius* of Semitic languages) to Königsberg (*DBE* 4: 413; Roemer 1967; Stein 1987: 46; Hanisch 2003: 189; Ellinger 2006: 487–88), i.e., a minor university in comparison to Leipzig, it appears that, contrary to the other fields of specialization discussed, Islamic studies were not (or not yet) a discipline.

Institutionally, Islamic studies were conceived as an addition, in the sense that they were added to another field of specialization, e.g., the study of Semitic languages, in the formal delineation of an assignment. The first such instance occurred in 1911, when Georg Jacob (1862–1937) became *ordinarius* for "Semitic and Islamic philology" at Kiel. According to Mangold, the appointment of Jacob, a scholar in Oriental studies with manifest interests in "cultural history and Islamic studies," illustrates that the university accepted "Islam" as a new subject category, but at the same time upheld the priority of language studies (2004: 262). The interrelation between the emergence of Islamic studies and the redefinition of Jacob's chair may have been more tentative than Mangold's rendering suggests.

At Kiel, Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) had to teach Semitic languages, Sanskrit, and even Biblical exegesis. In 1872, when Nöldeke moved to Strassburg,

exegesis was no longer part of the assignment of his successor, Georg Hoffmann (1845–1933). Moreover, the university established a chair for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics in 1875, to which Richard Pischel (1849–1908) was appointed (Waldschmidt 1959; Stache-Rosen 1990: 108–9). Thus Hoffmann's chair was one for "Semitic languages." As has been discussed in Chapter 5, this delineation included for practical reasons also Turkish and Persian, which together with Arabic constituted what Mangold considers the "core" of Near Eastern languages ("*die drei Grundsprachen*") taught at German universities (2004: 100). The formal delineation was suitable for Hoffmann, who specialized in Semitic languages (Fück 1955: 243; Hanisch 2003: 191). But his successor Georg Jacob was one of the very few scholars at the time who specialized in Ottoman-Turkish studies (Littmann 1937; Fück 1955: 319–22; Dammann 1987; Kreiser 1987b: 97; Hanisch 2003: 192; Ellinger 2006: 494). From his perspective, the categorization of Turkish as a Semitic language in the delineation of his position had to seem inappropriate. It is therefore conceivable that the phrase "Semitic and Islamic philology" was chosen to correct the inaccuracy of the title. In that case, Jacob's appointment was not necessarily marking the beginning of Islamic studies at German universities.

The first institutional changes occurred only after the First World War, i.e., after the German colonial-imperial stage had come to an end. Prior to that time, the issue of Islamic studies was a matter for debate among scholars under the lead of Carl Heinrich Becker and Martin Hartmann (1851–1918) (Mangold 2004: 266–73; Hanisch 2003: 68–73). In addition, two journals and an association were established to further the pursuit of Islamic studies. The journal *Der Islam. Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, of which Becker was the first editor, was published since 1910. In 1912, M. Hartmann and a few others founded an association for Islamic studies (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde*) which many leading scholars in the field soon joined.[2] The association published a journal, *Die Welt des Islams*, edited by Georg Kampffmeyer (1864–1936). Of course, it is impossible to tell how the establishment of Islamic studies would have proceeded had the development not been overtaken by the First World War.

What we know is that both journals were able to survive, and that the process of institutionalization at the university was rather slow, after some positions, the delineation of which included Islamic studies, were established soon after the war. From among the appointments made soon after the war, the positions held by R. Hartmann (Leipzig, 1918–22) and by Babinger (Berlin, 1921–34) have already been mentioned. In addition, two other scholars came to be employed: Karl Süssheim (1878–1947) was *extraordinarius* with an assignment that came closest to Middle East studies: Islamic history and languages (Turkish, Persian, and Arabic) at Munich (1919–33) (Babinger 1957: 267–68; Flemming 1979; Hanisch 2003: 209; Ellinger 2006: 533–34); and Friedrich Giese (1870–1944), one of the founders of the German association for Islamic studies, was honorary professor of Turkish and Islamic studies at Breslau (1920–28) and only later *ordinarius* (1928–36) (*DBE* 4: 1–2; Jäschke 1950; Hanisch 2003: 186; Fück 1955: 272 n. 665; Kreiser 1987b: 99; Ellinger 2006: 481).

The establishment of these positions may have been due to the campaign for Islamic studies during the last years before the First World War. It may also have been an "effect" of the war itself. The Middle Eastern aspects of the war, especially the German soldiers and military personnel who were employed in the Ottoman Empire, increased considerably the number of people, including scholars,[3] who had been to the Middle East or came into contact with Muslim POWs at Wünsdorf (Höpp 1996), which in turn increased knowledge as well as interest in the region.[4] At the same time, there were also a number of factors not conducive to the establishment of new chairs or even lower-ranking positions for the study of the modern Middle East. Contrary to the German *Reich* (empire), the post-war German state (the Weimar Republic) was in no position to have any foreign policy concerns regarding the Middle East. Even travel to the region was restricted for German citizens until Germany became a member of the League of Nations in 1926. In time, also the interest raised by the war experience gradually faded. Last, but not least, the inflation during the major economic-political crisis of 1922/3 eroded the budgetary basis of all institutions, including those of the universities.

In the second half of the 1920s, the institutionalization of Islamic studies slowly progressed again, until the crash at the New York stock exchange in October 1929 threw the world economy into crises. In 1926, when Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933) succeeded Fritz Hommel (1854–1936) at the chair of Semitic studies including Assyriology at Munich, he requested that also Islamic studies should be added to the delineation (*DBE* 1: 453–54; *NDB* 2: 92–93; Gottschalk 1937; Fück 1955: 311–12; Hanisch 2003: 180; Ellinger 2006: 468). In 1927, the University of Freiburg/Br. promoted one of its lecturers (since 1925) to *extraordinarius*. In other words, they decided to pay a low salary, instead of no salary. In return, the university expected an all-inclusive service: teaching Semitic languages, Turkish, and Islamic studies. Joseph Schacht (1902–69) was the scholar who faced the challenge. Apparently, he managed very well. Already two years later, at the age of twenty-seven, he was promoted to *ordinarius* (*DBE* 8: 540; Fück 1955: 312; G.F. Hourani 1970; Hanisch 2003: 205; Ellinger 2006: 522–23). No successor was hired at Freiburg, when Schacht moved to the chair at Königsberg in 1932. In 1928, Friedrich Giese's position was converted into a proper salaried one. He was appointed to a chair of Turkish and Islamic studies at Breslau.

After the other universities had already established institutes for Oriental studies (for a list, see Hanisch 2003: 58), the university of Berlin established an institute for "Semitic and Islamic studies" (*Institut für Semitistik und Islamkunde*) in 1929. There is no indication, however, that the nominal delineation of the institute entailed a formal redefinition of the teaching positions: Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942) held the chair for Semitic languages (1920–35) (*DBE* 7: 159; *NDB* 18: 591–92; Littmann 1950; Fück 1955: 314–15; Hanisch 2003: 198; Wassermann 2003: 145; Ellinger 2006: 510), and Franz Babinger was *extraordinarius* for Islamic studies. Later, Becker retired from politics to the university (1930–33). In 1931, another chair for Oriental studies was established, to which Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957), who had a special interest in Iranian studies, was appointed (*DBE* 8: 545; Pritsak 1958; Preissler 1979: 103; Hanisch 2003: 205; Ellinger 2006:523–24). When

Babinger lost his position in 1934, no successor was hired. R. Hartmann succeeded Mittwoch, who was dismissed in 1935.[5] Although both Schaeder and R. Hartmann can be seen to have at least partially adopted Becker's concept of cultural studies (Haridi 1995: 134–41, 143–46), the formal-institutional introduction of Islamic studies remained limited to the title of the institute and to Babinger's position, which vanished in 1934. At the end of 1936, the name of the institute was changed to *Arabistik und Islamkunde* (Arabic and Islamic studies) in order to accommodate NS sentiments (Hanisch 2003: 142). Since no new appointments were made afterwards, the innovation was one in name only.

After 1933, a number of positions including Islamic studies were created. The timing might suggest that the development was a function of the NS regime's colonial aspirations. This cannot be substantiated upon closer inspection. At Bonn, the position of *extraordinarius* for Semitic and Islamic studies was established in 1934, but it vanished again in 1936, when Otto Spies (1901–81), a member of the NSDAP since 1933, left for a chair at Breslau (*DBE* 9: 404; Nagel 1981; Noth 1982; Schützinger 1983; P. Kahle 1998: 120; Hanisch 2003: 208; Ellinger 2006: 530). The university of Breslau had two vacant chairs in 1935/6: the chair for Oriental studies, which Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) held until his retirement, and Friedrich Giese's chair for Turkish and Islamic studies. Since 1936, the university employed only one *ordinarius*, Otto Spies, who was appointed to a chair for Semitic and Islamic studies. In addition, Brockelmann continued teaching as *locum tenens* (1936–45), and Herbert Duda (1900–975) became *extraordinarius* for Turkish and Islamic studies (1936–41). The institutional changes seem to stem from the intention to further the career of a loyal party member and to economize at the same time.

Financial considerations may have provided the main impetus also at Munich, where two positions became vacant in 1933: Karl Süssheim was dismissed, and Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *ordinarius* for Semitic studies including Assyriology and Islamic studies, died in an accident. Instead, the university hired Otto Pretzl (1893–1941) as *extraordinarius* for Semitic and Islamic studies. The assignment reduced the scope of Assyriology, but otherwise comprised those of Süssheim and Bergsträsser, while the university hoped to pay only for an *extraordinarius*. The financial gain diminished, without being entirely lost, when Pretzl was promoted to *ordinarius* in 1935. After Pretzl fell in action in 1941, the university tried (in vain) to hire Bertold Spuler (1942/3), and eventually employed Hans Wehr (1909–81) as *locum tenens* for Oriental studies (1944–45).

At Vienna, the development seems to have been of a more political nature. In 1930, Victor Christian (1885–1963), who specialized in Assyriology, succeeded Rudolf Geyer (1861–1929) to the chair of Semitic languages. As an eager supporter of NS policy (he had been suspended for pro-NS activities, 1934–36), his career accelerated after the *Anschluss* in 1938. Though he remained *ordinarius* for Semitic languages until 1950, he also became department head at the *Ahnenerbe*, a research institute founded by the SS in 1935 (Hanisch 2003: 150; Ellinger 2006: 108–13). In addition, he was dean of the faculty of philosophy (1938–43), until he became vice rector of the university (1943–45). Christian was thus a rather busy

person, who probably found little time for teaching (*DBE* 2: 320–21; Hanisch 2003: 182; Ellinger 2006: 473). In 1939, Hans Kofler (1896–1947), who had been lecturer for Semitic studies at Innsbruck since 1932, was hired as *extraordinarius* for Oriental and Islamic studies (Duda 1948/52; Fück 1955: 259; Hanisch 2003: 194; Ellinger 2006: 500). In light of Christian's chair for Semitic studies with an emphasis on Assyriology, the addition of Islamic studies in Kofler's assignment indicates that he was meant to teach languages of later periods. The term Oriental, rather than Semitic, studies was commonly used in the NS period (Hanisch 2003: 141–42).

Turkish studies were also reinforced at Vienna. After Friedrich Kraelitz (1876–1932) died, the chair had remained vacant. Since 1933, Herbert Jansky (1898–1981) was lecturer for Turkish studies. He earned his living as interpreter at the court of appeal and at the chamber of commerce. In 1940, he was promoted to *extraordinarius* (without tenure) for Turkish studies at the university and was hired as lecturer for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish at the Oriental academy (the Austrian version of the *SOS*). He also became of member of the "Turkestan team," established by the SS in order to organize Muslim resistance against the Soviet Union (Duda 1969; Schaendlinger 1982; Hanisch 2003: 192; Ellinger 2006: 495). In 1943, Herbert Duda was appointed to a chair for Turkish and Islamic studies at the university. After Duda left his position at Breslau in 1941, he became head of the "German institute" in Sofia. Several such institutes were established in the Balkans with the task to study local conditions in order to facilitate long-term colonial rule (Hanisch 2003: 159; Ellinger 2006: 238–42). After the defeat at Stalingrad (February 2, 1943), which was preceded by the defeat at el-'Alamayn (June 30, 1942), the utility of the institutes faded together with the long-term prospects of colonial rule. Thus the chair of Turkish and Islamic studies, to which Duda was appointed in 1943 (*DBE* 2: 632–33; Heinz 1978; Stein 1987: 46–47; Hanisch 2003: 183; Ellinger 2006: 475), came to be established at Vienna in the course of the retreat of the colonial project.

In institutional terms, thus, Islamic studies were actually only represented at three universities for any longer periods of time (Berlin, Munich, and Breslau). At four other universities, the presence was much shorter: the project was aborted after a few years at Freiburg, Leipzig, and Bonn, while Islamic studies appeared at Vienna only in 1939, but there it became established for good. At the universities with a long institutional tradition, Islamic studies reached the level of a chair only in two cases: at Munich and Breslau. At the former, the chair was again redefined as Oriental studies in 1942, while at the latter, Islamic studies existed most of the time (until 1941) in combination with Turkish studies. This combination that distinguished Breslau from Berlin and Munich may be due to one scholar, Friedrich Giese, who taught it for a considerable period of time (1920–28) without receiving a salary. Similarly, the establishment of the chair for Semitic and Islamic studies in 1936 may have been less motivated by any concern for the field than the (political) intention to promote the career of Otto Spies. In any case, the (German) University of Breslau did not survive the end of the Second World War.

"Islamic studies": an illusive concept and its stories in the literature

In light of these findings, one may wonder why Islamic studies came to be considered a (sub-)discipline and why it attracted so much attention. In institutional terms, at least, the process of differentiation was not only remarkably slow, but also very limited in extent. Moreover, there is no indication that the establishment at the university can directly be linked to the colonial policies of either the empire until the First World War or the NS regime since 1933. Of course, the call for the Islamic studies was first voiced during the German colonial era. At that time, it also inspired a major debate, or at least, a well-documented one. Since the literature on the history of the discipline usually focuses on conceptual issues, the period before the First World War could be seen to mark the rise of Islamic studies. This still does not explain, however, why Islamic studies are thought to have gained such centrality that Middle East studies came to be called "Arabic and Islamic studies" in the German tradition. While all accounts identify Martin Hartmann and Carl Heinrich Becker as the central actors in the German story, considerable differences exist with regard to the definition of Islamic studies employed for the purpose of the disciplinary history, resulting in different historical narratives.

For illustration, I shall briefly review the debate beginning with Fück's study (1955). Due to what Fück considers a "natural development" of scholarly progress, a need for specialization in "*Realien*" ("material things," i.e., the study of topics other than language and literature) arose. That need was first addressed in France, by the establishment of a chair for Islamic studies at the *École des Hautes Études* in 1885, and a chair for *Sociologie Islamique* at the Collège de France in 1902. In Germany, M. Hartmann was the first to call for Islamic studies as separate field of specialization in Oriental studies (1955: 269). He had studied Oriental languages (Breslau and Leipzig) and graduated at Leipzig, had worked as interpreter at the German consulate in Beirut (1876–87), and then became lecturer for Arabic at the *SOS* in Berlin. In his own research, Hartmann made major contributions based on a sociological approach to the new field, many of which were published in *Die Welt des Islams*, the journal of the association for Islamic studies, which Hartmann founded together with others. His achievements did not meet with official recognition, however, because sociology was seen with suspicion in the relevant circles and faced stern opposition among professional historians. Moreover, universities did not want to establish chairs for Islamic studies. Thus Hartmann was excluded from a university career (1955: 272–73).

While Hartmann fought unsuccessfully for the recognition of Islamic studies in Berlin, the Colonial Institute was founded in Hamburg in 1908, which recognized the importance of the study of *Realien*. Thus a chair for the history and culture of the Orient was also established, to which Carl Heinrich Becker was appointed. He had been trained in Oriental studies: Assyriology by Carl Bezold (1859–1922) and Semitic languages by Jacob Barth (1851–1914), but Becker turned to Islamic studies under the influence of the writings of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936). Though he also learned much from M. Hartmann's work, Becker disliked his

sociological approach, and adopted a critical-historical one instead. Becker's main achievement is seen in the establishment of the journal *Der Islam*, which was edited by his successors in Hamburg, after Becker moved to a chair at Bonn in 1913. In 1916, Becker left the university for employment at the Prussian ministry of education. Due to his highly successful career at the ministry, Becker exerted. considerable influence on German Oriental studies (1955: 318–19). Fück's story ends at the First World War.

Paret's account (1966/1968) introduces a major change to the narrative. While Fück focuses on the history of Arabic studies, to which Islamic studies were added in the later part of the nineteenth century, Paret shifts the emphasis to Islamic studies,[6] with the following explanation:

> There is a unique interrelationship between Islam and the Arab world. The Arabs had already been living in the plateaux and oases of the peninsula [...] before they were united into a community by Muhammad [...] Arabic poetry had already borne its noblest fruits when the verses and *Surah*s of the Koran, the oldest work of Arab-Islamic literature as such, echoed through Mecca for the first time. But no notice of the Arabs would have been taken by the world if Islam had not made them a political power-factor and thus increased, so to speak, their interest. And the old Arabic poems would have been handed down through the generations in the steppes and soon forgotten if the Arabs world had not emerged into an Islamic world power. Hence a certain priority is accorded to the phenomenon of Islam in Oriental, or more precisely, Arabic-Islamic research.
>
> (Paret 1968: 8–9)

Paret makes another adjustment, which is not surprising in light of his own major contributions to the study of the Qur'an. He locates the beginning of the research tradition at the time of Theodor Nöldeke, in particular his work on the history of the text of the Qur'an (1968: 12–14). Nöldeke is thought to have built on the foundations laid in studies on the Qur'an and Muhammad by Abraham Geiger (1810–74), Gustav Weil (1808–89) and Aloys Sprenger (1813–93) (1968: 9–11).[7] Probably in order to remove Nöldeke's work from the realm of philological text inquiry and to stress the dimension of the historical research, Paret "brackets" Nöldeke with Alfred von Kremer (1828–89), the Austrian diplomat-scholar (*Privatgelehrter*) who aimed at writing an Islamic *Culturgeschichte* (history of Islamic culture), and Julius Wellhausen, in particular his work on Arab history during the early Islamic period which culminated in 1902 with his highly acclaimed book *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Paret 1968: 11–15).[8]

The progress from these beginnings to "The Institution of an Independent School of Islam Studies under Martin Hartmann and Carl Heinrich Becker" is thought to have been facilitated by the work of two non-German scholars: Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje (1968: 15–16). Moreover, the acquisition of German colonies in Africa, some of which had also Muslim inhabitants, provided an impetus to "the study of Islam and Islamic writings in Arabic" and led to the establishment of

the *SOS* (1968: 17). Paret's narrative then moves to M. Hartmann who worked at the *SOS*, and C.H. Becker at the Colonial Institute. Paret's account on Becker and Hartmann differs slightly from Fück's.

While Fück discusses M. Hartmann's research and publications in some detail, Paret does not mention anything in particular. He only refers to his work, when he attributes Hartmann's lack of success to two factors:

> The time was not yet ripe. He also found little acceptance for his sociological research. The reason for this most probably lay also in his lack of poise and concentration, which led him in his writings to take up a position from the start and never allow the argument to mature.
>
> (Paret 1968: 17)

The situation is reversed in Becker's case. While Fück does not mention any of Becker's writings specifically and just states that his scholarly interest moved from administrative and economic history to a quest for syntheses in the major themes of intellectual and cultural history, Paret presents Becker as being mostly interested in the history of culture and religion and, for illustration, cites quite a number of his publications (1968: 18). Paret introduces another innovation to the narrative with regard to Becker: he is said to have held a "professorial Chair" at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg (1968: 17).

Paret's narrative ends with his discussion on M. Hartmann and Becker, the rest of his account of the development of the discipline is structured as a review of scholarly publications organized according to themes within a loose chronological framework. Here the two basic categories are Arabic studies and Islamic studies. The former is limited to the study of Arabic language and literature in the narrow sense, comprising studies in grammar, lexicography, "Arabic poets," and "Arabic prose" (1968: 35–44, 62–66). All other topics in Middle East studies are categorized as being part of Islamic studies (1968: 20–35, 46–61). Thus Islamic studies can be seen as the main research trend in the discipline since the early twentieth century.

Johansen presents his account of the history of the discipline (1990) under the headline of Islamic studies. Though the term might suggest that he follows Paret's lead, Johansen defines Islamic studies differently. His vantage point is a normative concept of what Middle East studies should be, namely a historical discipline that studies Middle Eastern societies, including contemporary ones, on the basis of a comprehensive approach of social and cultural history in its widest sense. He states that in the German tradition, the scholarly field which aimed at realizing this concept "was labeled Islamic studies" (1990: 88). Having moved the focus from Islam to Middle East history, Johansen excludes from Islamic studies the research trends of the nineteenth century, which Paret added to the narrative (1990: 87).[9]

Instead of locating the historical roots of Islamic studies within the discipline of Oriental studies itself, Johansen relates the concept to the wider context of German intellectual history. Drawing on van Ess' study (1980) on the intellectual lineage of Becker's concept of *Kulturgeschichte* (history of culture), Johansen

traces the emergence of the concept of *Kulturkreis* (cultural circle). It originated in anthropology and the study of (classical) antiquity and was transformed into a general concept, especially by Max Weber (1864–1920) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923).[10] Later followed by Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Becker is thought to have adopted a modified version of Troeltsch's concept, on the basis of which he formulated a cultural-historicist concept of Islamic studies (Johansen 1990: 83–87).

With regard to the political context, Johansen does not focus on the German colonies, which Paret considers decisive. Instead, Johansen argues that "the experiences of European colonial expansion had taught the German government that the positivist philology of Oriental studies did not produce the kind of information useful for understanding the political and cultural developments in the Near East and Africa" (1990: 87). The realization of the deficiency of Oriental philology led to the establishment of the *SOS* and to government support for the establishment of Islamic studies at the university. At the time, two versions of Islamic studies were available in Germany,[11] one presented by Becker and the other by M. Hartmann. Since the latter was thought to be "too sociological," Becker's version won the day (1990: 87–88). "In 1908 a chair for the history and cultures of the Orient was created at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg and C.H. Becker was the first to occupy this chair and to establish Islamic studies as an independent discipline" (1990: 88).

Johansen's account on the emergence of Islamic studies as a discipline is rather ambiguous. Islamic studies are thought—though not shown—to have spread throughout the university system after its early victory at the Colonial Institute.[12] Johansen suggests that the practical importance of Islamic studies for foreign policy matters "may well have helped to establish it so quickly at German universities" (1990: 89; and 89–90). The new discipline is said to have claimed to be "the most modern representative" of Oriental studies. "The state and the general public seem to have accepted this claim of representation" (1990: 89). Though no evidence supporting the thesis is provided, it may be safe to assume that at least part of "the state" adopted such a view, in light of Becker's career at the Prussian ministry of education since 1916.

But Johansen's account also raises doubt with regard to the success of the discipline. M. Hartmann's sociological approach to Islamic studies was rejected, and he died in 1918. The alternative concept of a history of culture based on the concept of cultural circles was formulated by Becker, who left the academia. Later, Schaeder adopted Becker's concept, at least partially. One would expect a discipline to be the field of specialization of more than two scholars. Johansen does not mention anybody else. It might be that he could not. Haridi's study (1995) also investigates the "reception" of Becker's concept among German scholars in Middle East studies. Haridi found that it was largely ignored, and that only three scholars, namely Richard Hartmann, Jörg Kraemer (1917–61), and Hans Heinrich Schaeder, actually related to it (1995: part 5).

Johansen provides two additional arguments, which make any success of a discipline of Middle East history seem rather unlikely. He states that Middle East

societies could not be studied in the discipline of history due to historicism's total hegemony over the discipline at German universities. This state of affairs is said to persist even until the time of writing (1990). Thus the history of the Middle East could only be pursued within the framework of Oriental studies (1990: 83), under the "label" of Islamic studies. Moreover,

> it is not at all sure that the majority of scholars who worked in the field of Oriental studies looked at Islamic studies as the true representative of their scholarly endeavors. German Oriental studies continued its established research traditions in the fields of philology, literature, political history, and the analysis of basic religious texts with philological tools.
>
> (Johansen 1990: 89)

Quite a considerable number of those studies which Paret categorizes as belonging to Islamic studies, would belong to the "established research traditions" in Johansen's delineation. Thus it remains unclear whether, and to what extent, Islamic studies actually existed as a discipline.

Though much more elaborate and documented, Mangold's account (2004) seems to follow Johansen's argument with a few alterations. Since 1900, younger scholars called for a new discipline, namely the study of the history and culture of the Orient. That discipline was also called Islamic studies (*Islamkunde, Islamwissenschaft* and/or *Islamistik*) at the time, and Becker is identified as its leading representative (2004: 251). Contrary to Johansen, Mangold considers a development within the discipline of Oriental studies to have provided the ground for the emergence of Islamic studies. Due to the progress made by the discipline in the course of the nineteenth century, scholars grew tired of philology (2004: 252) and its neglect of the study of *Realien*. The criticism was raised by "outsiders" such as M. Hartmann, Snouck Hurgronje, Goldziher, Nöldeke, Kampffmeyer, and Becker against the discipline's mainstream, represented by August Fischer (1865–1949) at Leipzig (2004: 252–54).

This internal criticism is seen as a part of a much more general assault on institutionalized scholarship led by Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844–1900), reflecting a "crisis of modernity" with regard to "identity" and "culture" which entailed a profound crisis of the Western concept of sciences/scholarship and a radical cultural pessimism.[13] The experience of fragmented modernity in the form of academic specialization gave rise to the search for the grand synthesis. The desire to find a synthesis, which would allow seeing the entire Orient as one entity and as a part of world history, is said to have motivated Becker (2004: 255–56). Therefore, Mangold believes that when, in 1910, Becker explained the need for Islamic studies with reference to the establishment of the study of classical antiquity in addition to classical philology, his explanation was meant merely for marketing purposes, and that it actually obscured the true concept of the new discipline (2004: 256–57).

The true concept focused on Islam. While for most of the nineteenth century, the term was used in reference to the religion of Islam, Islamic studies were based on a much wider, different concept of Islam. Islam with its religious, legal, intellectual, economic, and political implications came to be conceived as an entire culture. The conceptual transition has to be seen against the background of a development in the discipline of history. Since the 1870s, the criticism of historicism crystallized around a concept of a history of culture that would give equal weight to state, religion and culture. The advocates of Islamic studies intended to follow that innovative trend. These German scholars received assistance from the work of other European scholars who were also outsiders, namely von Kremer, Goldziher, and Snouck Hurgronje. The new cultural concept of Islam was introduced to German Oriental studies by Becker and M. Hartmann. Drawing inspiration from Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, Becker is seen to have developed a concept of history of culture based on a critical historicist method to which also Wellhausen, Nöldeke, Goldziher, and Snouck Hurgronje adhered. By contrast, M. Hartmann followed the lead of Karl Lamprecht (1856–1915) who pioneered a sociological orientation in history, and shared his fate: marginality (2004: 257–61).

Until the First World War, the campaign for the establishment of Islamic studies had only very limited success. The vast majority of German Orientalists did not participate in the debate on Islamic studies, led by Becker and M. Hartmann. Also institutionally, the campaign did not succeed. No university could be convinced to establish a position for Islamic studies. Only the Colonial Institute, which was not a university, established a chair for the history and culture of the Orient in 1909; and M. Hartmann was allowed also to teach Islamic studies at the *SOS* since 1910. Despite the lack of tangible achievements with regard to the establishment of Islamic studies as a discipline, the campaign is thought to have had an impact on Oriental studies.

Since about 1900, scholars in the discipline, especially younger ones, showed a growing interest in the study of *Realien* (in addition to philology); and since 1910, universities can be seen to have adopted an employment policy that gave preference to philologist who were able to include the study of *Realien* in their teaching program. These trends ultimately led to a redefinition of the concept of philology, which was no longer confined to language studies, but came to include also the study of history and culture. Mangold ascribes these developments to the impact of the campaign for the establishment of Islamic studies. At the same time, they are also seen as a reaction of Oriental philology against the criticism raised by the advocates of Islamic studies. By incorporating some of its elements, Oriental philology was able to fend off the challenge (2004: 261–66), at least until the First World War, i.e., the end of the "long nineteenth century" investigated by Mangold.

Hanisch (2003) presents Islamic studies as one of the fields of specialization which emerged since the 1870s until the First World War, alongside the study of Semitic languages, including Arabic, and Assyriology (2003: 62–73). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Islamic studies became separated from Semitic studies mostly due to the influence of the developments in other European countries. Philology appeared to be insufficient for the requirements of the imperial age. Instead, a historical study of the culture, religion and art of countries

inhabited by Muslims was called for, which came to be pursued under the headline of Islam because the study of religion was a central topic in the humanities and social sciences in Germany at the time. The delineation was a function of the colonial interests. East Asian languages were included in the Netherlands, but not in Germany, where Swahili was part of Islamic studies (2003: 68–69).

M. Hartmann conceived Islamic studies as a historical discipline specializing in the study of *Realien*. By contrast, under the influence of Max Weber's studies of religion, Becker intended Islamic studies to investigate the functioning and effects of religion (2003: 69–71). During his work at the Colonial Institute, Becker readjusted his concept of Islamic studies. It came to mean the provision of a scholarly foundation for colonial policy (a definition which Becker dropped again after the First World War) and/or the study of *Realien*. In the latter case, Becker equated the relationship of Islamic studies to Semitic philology to that of the study of classical antiquity to classical philology (2003: 71–72). As the study of *Realien*, Islamic studies should have been established independently of philology, since it required a different methodological approach. But no discussion on the conceptual and methodological basis for studying the Orient occurred within the professional community. Instead, a trend towards specialization with regard to research topics occurred, which was reflected in the establishment of special journals: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (1886), *OLZ* (1898), *Der Islam* (1910), and *Die Welt des Islams* (1912) (2003: 72–73).

The development was interrupted by the First World War, in the course of which scholars contributed to the war effort by lending their professional expertise to the pursuit of German political and military aims in the Middle East (2003: 78–84). After the war, a process of re-academization is thought to have taken place, characterized by a retreat from politics and declining interest in the contemporary Middle East. The latter was enhanced by the absence of travel opportunities to the Middle East and even to international Orientalist conventions (2003: 86–96). Institutionally, the study of the Near East continued to be pursued in the framework of Semitic studies (*Semitistik*), Assyriology, and Egyptology. Within the discipline of Semitic studies, two fields, namely Arabic studies and Islamic studies, began to take shape ("*die Konturierung der Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*") during the Weimar Republic, without gaining institutional independence (2003: 96).

As the study of *Realien*, Islamic studies had the potential to perceive the Middle East as a part of world history, but under the influence of Becker's concept of a "cultural circle," adopted from Troeltsch, the Islamic Middle East came to be seen as a separate, self-contained entity (2003: 98–100). To varying degrees, Hellmut Ritter, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Richard Walzer (1900–1975), Martin Plessner (1900–1973), Joseph Schacht and Richard Hartmann are seen to have adopted Becker's concept (2003: 102–5). Becker used his prominent position at the Prussian ministry of education for promoting a number of research projects in Islamic studies, but he was not able to introduce a change on the institutional level, i.e., the formal delineation of positions at Prussian universities (2003: 100). The very low degree of crystallization was also reflected at the conventions of the *DMG*. Although the lectures were organized in thematic panels (*Sektionen*), the

term "Islamic studies" appeared only once, in 1924, and even then not on its own. The heading was: "Turkish studies, Islamic studies *et cetera*" (2003: 101).

The trends of specialization labeled "Islamic studies"

The question whether or not Islamic studies were a (sub)discipline is still unanswered. After the review of the literature, it seems not even clear, how Islamic studies were defined. In the various accounts, several narratives are presented which intersect at different points. At least this reader was not able to combine them into one coherent story. To my mind, the main problem is caused by the lack of any proper definition of Islamic studies. I suggest circumventing the difficulty by taking Nöldeke, Goldziher, M. Hartmann, Snouck Hurgronje, and Becker, scholars who appear in the various narratives as leading actors, as a starting point. I shall try to place the project of each one of them in the context of the development of the discipline of Oriental studies. At the end of the investigation, I hope to be able to clarify what Islamic studies were meant to be.

As a first step, I suggest to exclude Theodor Nöldeke and Ignaz Goldziher from the story of "Islamic studies" at German universities at the turn of the century. This is by no means meant to question their scholarly achievements in any way. Each in his own way made major contributions to the study of Islam, which were exceptionally innovative. In my view, the innovative quality of their work stemmed from a comparative approach to religion and/or religious texts, which was not a central feature of the trends that came to be seen as Islamic studies. It was even a rather exceptional approach within Middle East studies in general since the mid-nineteenth century.

Nöldeke had an exceptionally long professional career. He graduated in 1856 and held his first university position in 1861. Even after his retirement in 1906, he remained active in the professional community until his death in 1930. He belonged to the second generation of scholars in Oriental studies. As has been shown, scholars of that generation tended to focus in their professional training on philology. Though he was a fully trained and highly qualified philologist, Nöldeke's professional education included also theology, in the way it was pursued by his teacher Heinrich Ewald. In his study on the history of the text of the Qur'an, the first version of which was his doctoral dissertation (1856),[14] Nöldeke "applied" Ewald's approach to the study of Biblical texts to the Qur'an, as did another student of Ewald, Rudolf von Roth, with regard to Indian sacred texts (*NDB* 19: 311–12; *DBE* 7: 430; Müller 1906 ; Snouck Hurgronje 1931; Becker 1932; Fück 1955: 213–20; Paret 1968: 12–14; Hanisch 2003: 199). Though Nöldeke focused more on philological issues in his later research, he trained also students who worked "across" the border between the study of Islam and Biblical (and Jewish) studies.[15]

Goldziher was located at the periphery of the German university system. He had studied at Berlin and Leipzig and wrote most of his scholarly publications in German, but he sought employment at Budapest. He was certainly part of the German scholarly discourse, to which he made an extraordinary contribution. His

comparative perspective was different from Nöldeke's. Goldziher approached the study of Islam with an innovative concept of religion. The commonly used (Christian) concept saw religion as a canon of beliefs, a set of formalized worship and theology. By contrast, Goldziher adopted a much wider concept. Possibly also inspired by the experience made during his work at the Jewish community in Budapest, by which he had to earn his livelihood for many years, the format of Jewish religion provided the conceptual framework for Goldziher's studies of Islam, as is particularly well illustrated in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (1889/90) and his *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (1910). The latter appeared in a series of studies on religion and an English translation of the former was published in 1967 under the title *Muslim Studies*. Both the publishing framework and the terminology chosen suggest that Goldziher did not place his own work in the context of the German "Islamic studies" trend at the time (*DBE* 4: 88; Hartmann 1922; Fück 1955: 226–32; Paret 1968: 15–16; Goldziher 1977; Simon 1986; Patai 1987; Conrad 1999; Hanisch 2003: 187). Seen from a Christian background, Goldziher's studies may have provided an opening for the development of the concept of Islam as culture and/or civilization which appeared within the framework of Islamic studies. Goldziher as well as Nöldeke may well have been interested in the history and present conditions of the Middle East, but they approached Islam as religion (though not necessarily in the narrow Christian sense) in their major scholarly contributions.

Martin Hartmann whom Fück presented as the leading figure of Islamic studies, has gradually been sidelined in the literature that followed. Leaving the packaging aside, M. Hartmann can bee seen primarily to have been concerned with gaining recognition for the study of the contemporary Middle East as academic field, in order to transform his own expertise acquired during long-term residency in the region, while working as interpreter at the German consulate in Beirut (1876–87), into a professional qualification for a university career (*DBE* 4: 411; *NDB* 7: 745–46; Fück 1955: 172, 269–73; Paret 1968: 17; Hanisch 1992a, 1992b, 2003: 189; Ellinger 2006: 487). Hartmann was in a similar position as Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who used the concept of Islamic studies to integrate the expertise gathered during a trip to Arabia and his work in the Dutch colonial service in Java and Sumatra into an academic qualification for university employment. Snouck Hurgronje's pursuit was not in vain, he succeeded Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909) to the chair at Leiden in 1906 (Littmann 1936; Schacht 1937; Fück 1955: 197, 231–33; Paret 1968: 16–17; Koningsveld 1985 and 1987). Snouck Hurgronje's example may have contributed to M. Hartmann's choice of label: Islamic studies. It covered the Middle East in which he was interested, but could also be stretched to parts of the German colonies in Africa. The packaging as Islamic studies promised to improve the marketing chances of the project.

Irrespective of whatever Hartmann's personal shortcomings may have been, his project was bound to face strong opposition from the mainstream of the discipline of Oriental studies. The reason for the opposition is usually sought on the conceptual-methodological level, concerning the acceptability of a sociological approach or the question whether contemporary societies could be studied in a

scholarly manner (*wissenschaftlich*) (e.g., Mangold 2004: 266–73). But the main reasons may have been of a more practical nature. For most of the nineteenth century, traveling to the Middle East had not been an option for scholars at German universities.[16] For lack of a colonial framework, it was cumbersome; traveling required funds that exceeded the financial means of most scholars; and it required time (the sabbatical leave was not institutionalized). Towards the end of the century, travel became more common. Scholars, who could afford it, would go on a "study trip" to the Middle East, usually after graduation and before *Habilitation*.[17] Travel increased the knowledge of the contemporary Middle East, but the expertise gained was still minimal in comparison to Hartmann's, acquired during long-term residency. Therefore, if scholars in the discipline were to accept Hartmann's claim to professional qualification, they would inevitably call their own qualification into question. It seems rather unlikely that many volunteered.

Another "practical" objection may have been caused by the formalized career path. Due to the severe crisis of "overcrowding" especially during the last decade of the nineteenth century, competition for university positions increased. The competition led to an ever stricter adherence to the standardized format and sequence of professional training and employment, while the duration of the career path became increasingly longer. From the perspective of scholars who had struggled through many years of hard labor for low pay in that very hierarchical system, M. Hartmann probably appeared as someone who asked for a short-cut, which did not earn him particular favor in the ranks of the discipline. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) may have faced a similar situation.

Already on these practical grounds, M. Hartmann seems to have had very little chances to realize his ambition. His failure may have been less severe, however, than it is usually presented in the literature. Until the First World War, Hartmann's project was as successful as Becker's in Islamic studies (not to be confused with his personal career). Hartmann taught Arabic and Islamic studies at the *SOS* since 1910, while Becker was employed at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg since 1909. The Colonial Institute was not a university, but was established as an alternative to the *SOS*. It was meant to train "merchants, farmers, civil servants and others" who intended to work in German colonies, and to provide scholarly know-how for colonial business ventures (Hanisch 2003: 44; Mangold 2004: 264). Though Becker held the title of professor, it was not a formal academic rank. This may have been one of the reasons why Becker left for a chair of Oriental studies at Bonn in 1913. His successor, Rudolf Tschudi (1884–1960) was less lucky. When he left the Colonial Institute, he found employment as *extraordinarius* at Zurich in 1918 (*DBE* 10: 110; Taeschner 1961; Hanisch 2003: 209). Substantially, Becker's position at the Colonial Institute was similar to Hartmann's at the *SOS*, merely its packaging was more pretentious. At the end of the war, Hartmann's project came to a halt. He died in 1918. The effects of the defeat, the end of the colonial era and the imposition of travel restrictions created truly unfavorable conditions for any scholarly concern for the contemporary Middle East.

The literature has identified Becker as the leading figure of the second trend in Islamic studies, which is often seen as the mainstream. I wish to suggest that

Becker may have been just someone who rode on top of a wave, and that his writings may not be central for the understanding of the trend that carried him. In other words, the story may not to be found in Becker, but in the development of the discipline of Oriental studies.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Oriental studies in the form of Oriental philology were established as an auxiliary discipline to classical philology. Though Oriental studies were criticized as a luxury discipline (*Orchideenfach*) in the early stages of institutionalization, the discipline gained legitimacy by 1840 when classical philology had established its hegemony. Philology focused on language as the highest expression of human culture. Since the 1870s, trends set in which introduced artifacts, in the first instance ancient artwork, into the realm of the culture that was object of scholarly investigation (the study of *Realien*). These artifacts had to be excavated, which entailed that culture signified by these objects, became attached to a specific territory. By 1890, the development led to a transformation of classical philology into the study of (classical) antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*). The redefined discipline combined the study of language and literature with that of *Realien*, mainly history, archaeology, and art. At the same time, excavations attached the field to a territory and redrew its borders (both in space and time). Moving excavations to the Asian shore of the Mediterranean entailed the "annexation" of these territories and the extension of the interest in classical Greece to the Hellenistic period.[18]

The new delineation of classical studies did not only add fields of inquiry, but it also transformed philology itself. As Marchand shows, the introduction of artifacts and the concept of style typology developed for their study endowed languages and language families with material reality essentializing them into national *mentalités* (1996: 110–11). The introduction of historical research adhering to the tradition of historicism had the same effect. While grammar-oriented philology was based on a universal claim and thus had to encompass all know languages, the "historical" philology at the end of the nineteenth century adopted a particularistic conceptual basis. The transition is reflected in the changing function of comparative linguistics (*vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*) that tended to be explicitly combined with Sanskrit studies, but provided also a framework for the study of modern European languages. Since the 1870s, separate chairs for German studies were established and, by the end of the nineteenth century, for English and Romance studies as well (Baumgarten 1997: 30–62; on the historical orientation of these disciplines: Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 256–59). As can be seen in Appendix 3, also chairs for Indian studies (*Indologie*) appeared at that time,[19] while comparative linguistics tended to be called the study Indo-European languages (the literal translation of the German term is Indo-Germanic languages),[20] or even more bluntly Aryan philology.[21]

The concern for artifacts gave also rise to Assyriology, a field of specialization in the study of Semitic languages. In the early 1890s, the first separate chairs were established. Like Egyptology and *Altertumswissenschaft*, Assyriology combined the study of languages and literature with that of *Realien*, belonging to a specific territory, namely the Mesopotamian region. These developments entailed that

scholars who specialized in Semitic languages of more recent periods were left high and dry. They lost their legitimization as auxiliary discipline, when classical philology transformed into the study of antiquity. Mangold found that Oriental studies, which she identifies with the study of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, were criticized as luxury discipline since 1890 (2004: 294). In light of the developments in philology, especially in classical studies, Assyriology, and Indian studies, the criticized scholars may well have tried to regain legitimization by following the trend.

"Joining" German national history was not really an option. Therefore, the task was to transform the study of Semitic languages into a discipline that combined the study of languages and literature with the study of *Realien* with regard to a specific territory. In other words, a discipline for the history and culture of the Middle East was called for. This could explain the growing trend of combining philology with the study of *Realien* which Mangold found among scholars as well as in the appointment policy of universities. Also Becker (1910) seems not to have been far off the mark when equating the relationship of Islamic studies (defined as the study of *Realien*) to Semitic philology to that of *Altertumswissenschaft* to classical philology (Hanisch 2003: 71–72; cf. Batunsky 1981). Mangold may therefore to be mistaken when she considers the reference as a mere marketing strategy which obscures Becker's true concept (2004: 256–57). This raises the question why the new discipline was not delineated with reference to a territory, and how Islamic studies, belonging to a different category, were related to the new delineation.

The absence of a territorial reference may have been due to the fact that the Middle East was already "occupied territory": "classical" Greece had conquered the territory of the Hellenistic period in Asia Minor, Egypt was taken by Egyptology, Mesopotamia by Assyriology, and even Biblical studies established its territory in the form of Palestine studies. In territorial terms, this left a few stretches of the Arabian desert. That "occupied territory" may indeed have posed a terminological problem can be illustrated by the formal structure of the Colonial Institute. The institute was not a university, and its program was geared towards contemporary societies. History entered to the extent that it was deemed necessary to understand the present. The study of antiquity, be it classical or Oriental, was not at the center of attention. The institute established four regionally defined Oriental chairs: the history and culture of the Near East (Becker); the history and culture of East Asia (Otto Franke); African studies (Carl Meinhof); and (since 1914) the history and culture of India (Sten Konow).

Against that background, the term "Islamic studies" appears as a misnomer, chosen by default. Becker built his entire conceptual edifice on the misnomer. His concept cannot account for the trend; and its very limited reception had not necessarily any implications for the development of the discipline. The motivation to choose this particular misnomer may have been primarily a practical one. "Islam" was marketable during the colonial era. Becker himself participated in the colonial debate, offering his professional expertise in the evaluation of colonial concerns, as is reflected in his "*Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?*"

("Is Islam a danger for our colonies?"), published in 1909 (Becker 1967) and other publications by him on similar issues at the time (Hanisch 1992a, 1992b). With his political engagement, Becker seems to have been well outside the consensus within the discipline of Oriental studies. As Gottfried Hagen has shown (2004), even the German *jihad*-project at the beginning of the war in 1914 did not stem from an academic initiative, though "students of Islam and the Middle East" were engaged in its implementation: "Hartmanm, Schabinger, Mittwoch, Kampffmeyer and Becker all played roles in the episode of German Holy War" (2004: 148). Apart from Becker, M. Hartmann, Schabinger[22] and Kampffmeyer were lecturers at the *SOS*. Eugen Mittwoch was lecturer for Semitic languages at Berlin since 1905 and worked also as lecturer at the *SOS* since 1907. His academic career progressed only during the war, in which he took an active part. He was promoted to *extraordinarius* at Berlin in 1915, became *ordinarius* at Greifswald in 1917 and was appointed to the chair for Semitic languages at Berlin in 1920. Contrary to Hagen's thesis, it would seem that the "Islam-ticket" was used by scholars who—in the strict sense—were not part of the university system, but might have wanted/wished to pursue a career there.[23]

Therefore it is arguable that the reference to Islam was chosen in the hope that it might appeal to the public and especially to official circles, while it also allowed building a coalition of scholars with different orientations, ranging from Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje (until the war) to M. Hartmann, Georg Kampffmeyer, and others who were interested in the contemporary Middle East, in support of the project: a discipline for the study of the Middle East after "antiquity", along the lines of Assyriology and Egyptology. This allows Mangold to cite the statement of purpose of the *OLZ*, a journal focusing on the ancient Orient, in her discussion on the rise of Islamic studies (2004: 265). It may also explain why scholars interested in Assyriology like Fritz Hommel and Carl Bezold (1859–1922), the Assyriologist and editor of the *OLZ*, Felix Peiser (1862–1921), and even Hermann Guthe (1849–1936), who specialized in Palestine studies, joined the German association for Islamic studies (for a list of members until the First World War: Mangold 2004: 279–80), founded by Hartmann and others in 1912.

This still leaves the question why institutional establishment of the new discipline progressed so very slowly. Of course, "timing" was a considerable factor. The trend towards "Islamic studies" gathered pace shortly before the First World War, without making any institutional headway. Since 1918, the field faced the difficulties of all academic developments during the Weimar Republic, in particular the ill effect of unstable budgets in light of two major political-economic crises (1923, 1929/30) during a relatively short period of time, less than fifteen years. In addition, two other factors may have contributed to the institutional "failure" of Islamic studies.

The first one is that the term "Islamic studies" was not the only default solution in use. When the study of Sanskrit transformed into Indian studies, the study of Semitic languages became Semitic studies (*Semitistik*) and the study of Oriental languages (at that point in time, usually referring to languages of the Near East) turned into Oriental studies (*Orientalistik*). For lack of a territorial reference,

these terms were less than perfect. Since they were modeled on German, English, and Romance studies: *Germanistik*, *Anglistik*, and *Romanistik*, the terms could, however, be seen to delineate a discipline abreast with scholarly standards of the time. These headings provided an umbrella for the inclusion of new trends. As mentioned, philologists became also interested in the study of *Realien*; and research addressed topics that may be seen as belonging to the field of Islamic studies.

Even the concept of philology itself underwent major change, as is illustrated by August Fischer, who is usually seen as leading figure of "pure" philologists who opposed the rise of Islamic studies (Hanisch 2003: 97–98; Mangold 2004: 261). In 1924, Fischer established a new journal, entitled *Islamica. Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und der Kulturen der islamischen Völker* (journal for the study of the languages and cultures of the Islamic peoples). After Becker died in 1933, history was also included in the subtitle of the journals, although articles on historical subjects already appeared in previous issues. The journal shows that Semitic languages were no longer the main ordering category in philology. The necessarily comparative framework of grammar-oriented language studies under the lead of classical philology in the nineteenth century placed the study of the language family at the center of scholarly attention. In the wake of the transformation at the turn to the twentieth century, the study of Semitic languages as language family lost its relevance for philology in general. Thus philologists specializing in Near Eastern languages had to, or were able to, explore alternative ordering concepts.

The exploration had more than one focus. *Islamica*, in the sense of the study of languages spoken by Muslim peoples was one of them.[24] Another one may have been the trend towards specialization in Arabic studies. As Hanisch shows, although Arabic studies had been pursued since the early nineteenth century (Fleischer), the crystallization as distinct field of specialization only gathered pace during the Weimar Republic, without reaching the stage of institutionalization, however (2003: 96–97). This development also provided the context in which Carl Brockelmann worked on three supplement volumes to his *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (1898, 1902), published in 1937, 1938 and 1942, which were followed by a revised edition of the main volumes in 1943 and 1949.

Another parallel development may have been the emergence of (Ottoman-) Turkish studies, which is seen in the context of the close cooperation between the German and Ottoman empires since the 1890s until the end of the First World War and the first-hand experiences it provided for German and Austrian scholars (Kreiser 1998). That context was certainly important, but it may not have been the only factor contributing to the development. Despite limited communication and travel opportunities, the Ottoman Empire was no *terra incognita*, not even for German and Austrian scholars. Since Joseph Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), scholars who had first-hand knowledge of the Ottoman Empire were part of the professional discourse in German. If not actually available, knowledge was certainly accessible, much easier than for Sanskrit studies, for example. The conception of Oriental studies as philology focusing on Semitic languages

as language family necessarily sidelined Turkish studies.[25] When the concern for the language family faded, the conceptual option for Turkish studies as a distinct field of specialization arose. A similar development can be observed with regard to Iranian studies. As Indo-European language, Persian remained a side issue in Near East studies geared towards the Semitic language family. After the transition, a research focus on Iranian studies could even be represented at the discipline's core, as Hans Heinrich Schaeder illustrates.

The second factor for the institutional "failure" of Islamic studies may be a relative lack of spectacular artifacts. Undoubtedly a great number of objects from the Middle East were available (maybe even, too many). But nothing related to the field resembled the huge excavation projects for the ancient periods, the finds of which completely captured public imagination and secured state funding. The only major public event of the Islamic period was the great exhibition of Islamic art at Munich in 1910, which attracted wide public interest, and paved the way for the rise of the study of Islamic art history. Thus Islamic studies did not partake in the national quest for the possession of impressive artifacts for museum exhibitions that came to be seen as essential paraphernalia of the empire. Contrary to the first-sight impression, Islamic studies do not appear to have emerged as direct result of political colonial aspirations. In light of the discussion here, the field should rather be seen as "fallout" from the transformations of other disciplines that were caused and facilitated by the establishment of the territorial state and its imperial projects.

8 The primacy of political factors
1933–45

This last stage in the historical account concerns the developments from 1933 until 1945. During that period, the social and cultural dynamics at the universities which had determined the history of Middle East studies were overridden by outright political force, which in its most immediate form entailed the exclusion of university teachers and students on the grounds of so-called race, religion, and/or political convictions. Though much work still needs to be done, university history under the NS regime has received considerable scholarly attention in recent decades (e.g., Adam 1977; Beyerchen 1977; Losemann 1977; Heinemann 1980; Vezina 1982; Tröger 1984; Lundgreen 1985; Näf 1986, 2001; Becker *et al.* 1987/1998, Burleigh 1988; Titze 1989: 224–38; Krause *et al.* 1991; Heiber 1991–94; Chroust 1994, 2006; Gerstengrabe 1994; Hammerstein 1995, 1999; Marchand 1996: 340–54; Jehle 1996; Wegeler 1996; Nagel 2000; Hausmann 2001, 2002, 2003, 1998/2007; Junginger 1999, 2008).

In addition to studies that deal with specific topics (e.g., Brentjes 1985; Freimark 1991; Kreiser 1998b; Rohde 2000), several accounts are available that deal with Middle East or Oriental studies as a whole. Ekkehard Ellinger's dissertation on the subject, published in 2006, is the most elaborate one. Though it contains a wealth of information, Ellinger's study does not relate to the research undertaken by Ludmila Hanisch on the period both with regard to the development within the field and the scholars who were excluded (Hanisch 2001, 2003). This might be due to the fact that Ellinger's dissertation was completed in 2003. Moreover, there might be a problem of compatibility. Hanisch undertakes a thorough and well-documented survey, but she refrains from making any overall evaluation. By contrast, Ellinger's study is meant to challenge what he presents as the hegemonic view on Oriental studies during the NS regime. He argues that this part of the history has widely been ignored and that the discipline's involvement with the NS regime tends to be downplayed, while his own study aims to show close interrelations between Oriental studies and the NS regime as well as the continuity after 1945 (2006: 419–23, 435–53). Without taking a stand with regard to the overall evaluation, Hanisch documents the involvement and the interrelations of scholars in the field with the NS regime. In that sense, her work does not fit into the "hegemonic trend" against which Ellinger sets his argument. By contrast, the brief accounts by Rudi Paret (1968) and Baber Johansen (1990), which are

almost entirely limited to general assessments, can more easily be employed as counter-narratives.

Paret divides his survey of scholarly achievements into two major parts: the developments "up to the thirties" and "German Oriental Studies since 1933." Between these two parts, Paret inserts a short passage containing a general evaluation of the NS period (1968: 44–46). Apart from the suffering caused by persecution, he stresses the hardship endured by scholars who remained in Nazi Germany:

> The result of all this was not only a noticeable reduction in the ranks of German Orientalists, but also the uncomfortable feeling for those who stayed behind that they were proscribed in the society of the free world. With the outbreak of the Second World War the crisis grew to new proportions. Death brought gaps in the ranks of those who stayed behind living as spiritual outsiders. After the war had ended and the world learnt the horrors of what had happened in the concentration camps, we felt as if we had been thrown into a ghetto. On top of the hunger and cold there was the odium of being a German and thus responsible in part for the horrors of the National Socialist regime.
>
> (Paret 1968: 45)

Whether or not they were persecuted by the NS regime, scholars of Middle East studies as such were victims of the circumstances; they were no perpetrators, not even collaborators. Apart from that, the scholars just continued to pursue their studies: "German Oriental Studies since 1933" until the present.

Johansen approaches the issue from a quite different perspective on German history. Any equation between the victims of NS persecution and those who remained in Nazi Germany without resisting is unacceptable. Therefore, Johansen divides his account of the period into two parts: "The Persecution" and "Nazi Culture and Oriental studies." In the second part, Johansen attempts to show that there was an inherent distance between Oriental studies and the NS regime. He argues that

> In the field of cultural policy the Nazis followed the principle of restraining the possibility of studying cultures, religions, and histories of peoples that were, as they said, alien to the German species. For that reason they closed down the Oriental Institute[s] at Giessen [and at Kiel].
>
> (Johansen 1990: 91)

Due to the regime's hostile attitude, scholars in Middle East studies were not attracted to Nazism, with the exception of some individual scholars, mostly specializing in Turkish and Iranian studies.

At the beginning of the Second World War, the regime improved the work conditions for Oriental studies for practical political reasons. Although scholars in Oriental studies participated in a special war effort of the humanities, the "representative" of the ministry of education, Paul Ritterbusch reprimanded them

at their convention in 1942, for claiming funds that would better serve the study of German history.

> Oriental studies reacted in abandoning areas that were thought of as ideological committed [...] Those areas of Oriental research that since the nineteenth century constituted Oriental studies and were considered to be nonpolitical and purely scholarly fields attracted most Orientalists.
>
> (Johansen 1990: 91–92)

Thus the ideological hostility of the NS regime towards Oriental studies caused most scholars to keep their distance from Nazism; their strategy of avoidance in form of a retreat into pure scholarship led the discipline to abandon all new research trends and to return to its nineteenth-century format.

Against this background, Ellinger sets himself a huge task. He aims at documenting the exclusion of scholars, the degree of collaboration of the other scholars with the NS regime, the transformation of the institutional framework of the discipline undertaken by the NS regime as well as the integration of scholarly research into a coherent NS ideology. As to be expected, such an all-inclusive goal cannot be fully achieved by one study, even if it is a sizeable work of some 600 pages. Thus short-cuts are inevitable: on the issue of individual collaboration, Ellinger relies on samples, without being able to tell how widespread or representative they were (Ellinger 2006: 41). The discussion of the institutional development focuses mostly on Berlin and to some degree on Vienna (2006: 164). In order to achieve the integration of the waste amount of data, a strong emphasis is put on a lineal development which presupposes a more unified system than it might have been. This limitation is particularly visible in the discussion of the regime's institutional policy and in the investigation of the interrelation between research and NS ideology (2006: 277–418).

In this chapter, I attempt to consider to what extent the findings of Ellinger's study and Hanisch's survey corroborate or challenge Paret's and Johansen's evaluations, or which alternative conclusions may be drawn, especially with regard to the extent of continuity and the emergence of new patterns and dynamics within the field at the university. The discussion will focus on five issues: the persecution; the conceptual development of the discipline; NS policy regarding Oriental studies; NS projects involving Oriental studies; and the cooperation between scholars and the regime.

Persecution

Apart from such measures as denunciation, mobbing and acts of terror based on local "initiatives" (e.g., Faust 1973; Rürup 1993; Diewald-Kerkmann 1995; Kahle 1998; Bäumler 1999), persecution generally occurred in the form of a gradual process which intensified in waves mostly following legislation. The "law for the restitution of the civil service" (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*, April 7, 1933) provided the basis for the dismissal of civil servants who were

considered to be politically unreliable and those of Jewish origin unless their appointments had been made before the First World War or they had served in the army during the war. The law extended not only to civil servants proper, as for example tenured teachers at universities, but also to institutions which received state funding (e.g., the academies of sciences, the German archaeological institute, and the *DMG*). The first wave of dismissals occurred from April to August 1933. Another one[1] followed the *Reichsbürgergesetz* (the "law [re]defining German citizenship," September 15, 1935) and a related regulation (issued September 30) which decreed the dismissal of all civil servants who were considered Jewish. On April 15, 1937, the ministry of education issued a regulation prohibiting the admission of German students of Jewish origin to doctoral degree programs.

According to Ellinger's findings (2006: 424–35), only a few scholars who lost their employment on the basis of the NS legislation remained in Germany: Werner Caskel (1896–1970), Wolfgang Lentz (1900–86), Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (1860–1946), and the librarians Hans Rasp (1895–1966) and Erich Schröter (1868–1965). Three scholars of the field were murdered in concentration camps: the Ph.D. candidate Hedwig Klein (1911-probably 1942), the specialist for Iranian studies Fritz Wolff (1880-probably 1943) and the librarian Arthur Spanier (1889–1944). Other scholars who lost their employment or could not find employment due to NS legislation were able to emigrate, mostly to the USA, Britain, Palestine, and Turkey: Robert Anhegger (b. 1911), Franz Babinger (1891–1967), Frederick Perez Bargebuhr (1904–78), Max Meir Moshe Bravmann (1909–78), Richard Ettinghausen (1906–79), Anton Freimann (1871–1948), Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt (1895–1972), Hans Ludwig Gottschalk (1904–81), Walter Gottschalk (1891–1974), Gustave von Grunebaum (1909–72), Ernst Emil Herzfeld (1879–1948), Ernst Honigmann (1892–1954), Paul Kahle (1875–1964), Paul Kraus (1904–44), Robert Lachmann (1892–1939), Julius Lewy (1895–1963), Ilse Lichtenstadter (1907–91), Heinrich Eliakim Löwe (1869–1951), Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), Hermann Pick (1879–1952), Martin Plessner (1900–73), Erwin Isaac Jacob Rosenthal (1904–91), Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003), Joseph Schacht (1902–69), Karl Süssheim (1878–1947), Andreas Tietze (1914–2003), Richard Walzer (1900–75), Gotthold Weil (1882–1960) and Paul Wittek (1894–1978).

According to my own survey drawing on publications on the Middle East and university employments, the following scholars may be added to the list of victims of exclusion: Berthold Altaner (1885–1964), Rudolf Anthes (1896–1985), Anton Baumstark (1872–1948),[2] Adolf Erman (1854–1937), Bernhard Geiger (1881–1964), Albrecht Götze (1897–1971), Hans Gustav Güterbock (1908–2000), Julius Yitzchak Guttmann (1880–1950), Gustav Haloun (1898–1951), Walter B. Henning (1908–67), Joseph Henninger (1906–93), Hans Hickmann (1908–68), Ernst Eduard Hirsch (1902–85), Gustav Hölscher (1877–1955),[3] Rolf Italiaander (1913–91), Tadeusz Kowalski (1889–1948),[4] Fritz Rudolf Kraus (1910–91), Fritz Krenkow (1872–1952), Benno Landsberger (1890–1968), Kurt Levy (1907–35),[5] Heinrich Lüders (1869–1943), Karl Menges (1908–99), Theodor Menzel (1878–1939),[6] Hans Wolfgang Müller (1907–91), Julian Obermann (1888–1956), Salomon Pines (1908–89), Hermann Ranke (1878–1953), Carl Rathjens (1887–1966), Friedrich Rosen (1856–1935), Walter Ruben (1899–1982), Isidor Scheftelowitz (1875–1934), Lucian Scherman (1864–1946), Bruno Schindler (1882–1964), Alfred Siggel (1884–1959), Otto Stein (1893–1942), Georg Steindorff (1861–1951), Otto Strauss (1881–1940), Egon Joseph Wellesz (1885–1974), Hans Alexander Winkler (1900–45),[7] and Heinrich Zimmer (1890–1943).

Hanisch has calculated that between 1933 and 1938 25 percent of all *ordinarii* of Middle East studies were dismissed on the grounds of so-called race, religion, and/or political convictions (2003: 118). In addition to an account of the individual cases (2003: 116–26), she attempts to evaluate the consequences of the expulsion (*"Konsequenzen der Vertreibung"*) (2003: 134–43). For that purpose, she surveys the appointments made between 1933 and 1939 (see also Appendix 3), and investigates the fields of research. With regard to the latter, she comes to the conclusion that despite minor changes resulting from the departure of scholars (including both scholars who were dismissed and those who retired/died), continuity prevailed in most fields (Hanisch 2003: 136). Moreover, she observes that some fields of research became considered less important, which led to a reduction in research, although there was no lack of competent scholars (2003: 140–41).

Ellinger does not address the issue comprehensively. Although the expulsions are documented, no immediate consequences for the institutional development are discussed in detail. It seems, however, that Ellinger concurs with Hanisch's assessment, when he comes to the conclusion that in general terms teaching and research at the universities remained constant until the beginning of the war in 1939, which led to a marked reduction, especially due to the recruitment of scholars for active military service (2006:185). Although the investigation of scholarly writings constitutes a major part of the study (2006: 277–418), the question of what difference the writings of the excluded scholars (might have) made is not considered.

On the basis of what is currently known, it would seem that the expulsions caused no major transformation of the field, while providing employment opportunities for those who were not targeted. For those who were expelled, the consequences were surely different ones, though they cannot adequately be evaluated in terms of disciplinary history. Thus research on the contributions that some of these scholars were able to make in the development of their academic fields in the countries to which they emigrated is very valuable and deserves further attention (e.g., Pross 1955; Radkau 1971; Widmann 1973; Neumark 1980, Hoffmann 1981; Hirschfeld 1983; Bolbecher 1995; Krohn 1987/1993; Strauss *et al.* 1991; Cremer and Przytulla 1991; Böhne and Motzkau-Valeton 1992; Schwartz 1995; Boyaz 2001). But this line of inquiry can only provide a partial picture that needs to be supplemented by research on the fate of individual persecuted scholars, as for example Joel Kraemer's study on Paul Kraus (1999).

Developments in the conception of the discipline

While the expulsion of colleagues was no cause for public protest, not even a topic for a public debate, scholars in the field turned their attention to a conceptual

debate—an issue that has never before been addressed in such intensity. The debate began when Franz Babinger, who was teaching at the *SOS*, and Walther Hinz (1906–92), who was working at the Prussian ministry of education, submitted a report to the ministries of education in Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony (May 15, 1933). It was entitled "Oriental studies in the new Germany—State of the art and future tasks." They suggested promoting three major centers for Oriental studies, namely at Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich and placing an emphasis on historical and contemporary research (Hanisch 2003: 144; Ellinger 2006: 150–51).

Very critical replies followed. Scholars at Leipzig, August Fischer (1865–1949), Erich Bräunlich (1892–1945), and Benno Landsberger, defended the central importance of philology and argued that knowledge of the contemporary Middle East should be acquired by traveling (or reading travel reports), not during studies at the university (Hanisch 2003: 144–45). Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957) at Berlin, Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) at Hamburg, and Enno Littmann (1875–1958) at Tübingen aimed their criticism at the suggestion of concentrating Oriental studies at three universities only (2003: 145–46). As *ordinarius* for Semitic languages, head of the institute of Oriental studies at Bonn and secretary of the *DMG*, Paul Kahle wrote an alternative report on Oriental studies in Germany (encompassing the entire Orient) for the German ministry of education (*REM*) in April 1935, in which he warned against excessive specialization. Kahle's review of the discipline stressed the need to refrain from further dismissals. Policy should aim at increasing the number of teaching staff and at combating the lack of young scholars (2003: 146–47).

Ellinger presents the debate differently (2006: 150–56). He focuses on the proposal by Babinger and Hinz and on Kahle's report. In his view, they present the two ends of a spectrum: while Kahle aims at the preservation of the discipline, Babinger and Hinz represent the program to transform the discipline according to National Socialism (2006: 155–56). While the assessment of Kahle's report is unproblematic, there may be room for doubt with regard to the characterization of the proposal submitted by Babinger and Hinz as "the NS program" for Oriental studies. They certainly tried to sell their proposal as suitable for a program of NS policy. But that is primarily a sign of opportunism, while its NS character still needs to be proven. For example, Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971), who had lost his university position at Hamburg in 1926 for being homosexual and found employment at the Orient institute of the *DMG* in Istanbul since 1928, faced the thread of losing his livelihood in 1933, when the Prussian ministry of education decided to withdraw the funding for the Orient institute of which Ritter was the sole employee. In order to secure further financial support, he offered his services for NS propaganda purposes. Although the funding was restored, Ritter appears not to have been taken up on his offer. Despite this remarkable act of opportunism, Ritter can hardly be characterized as NS representative (Lier 1998; Ellinger 2006: 201–2).

By contrast, some of the critics of the proposal made by Babinger and Hinz can be said to have had clear NS credentials. It is therefore of note that Ellinger chooses not to discuss or even mention the sharp criticism raised by Fischer, former *ordinarius* at Leipzig, in this context. According to Ellinger's findings, Fischer

was a committed Nazi who had joined the NSDAP at an early stage (Ellinger 2006: 36). He was also one of the signatures of the "declaration of loyalty to Adolf Hitler and the NS state by professors at German universities and colleges" which was published in Leipzig in 1933 by the NS teachers association of Saxony (2006: 48–49). Also others critics, especially Schaeder and Bräunlich, can be seen as having worked well within the NS framework, and also Ellinger presents them as such elsewhere throughout his study. Therefore it remains unclear at this stage why the proposal submitted by Babinger and Hinz should be seen as representing NS policy, while the conceptions voiced by its critics are not. In the course of the discussion of the institutional development that follows it becomes clear, however, that Ellinger singled out the proposal by Babinger and Hinz because he wants to argue that it was actually implemented (2006: 186–87).

In light of their differences with regard to the evaluation of the proposal, Ellinger and Hanisch follow different narrative strategies for their further investigation. Here the discussion will follow first Hanisch and then turn to Ellinger. Hanisch presents the proposal by Babinber and Hinz as the first contribution to a long conceptual debate in the field. After the immediate (critical) reactions to it came Kahle's report, which Ellinger presents as the opposite side of the spectrum. From there, Hanisch continues her review of the debate.

A series of six public lectures entitled "German Oriental studies, their current importance and tasks" was held at Berlin, October 1934 to February 1935 (Hanisch 2003: 149). The German Orient association in Berlin organized the lectures in cooperation with the local sections of the *DMG*, the Near Eastern–Egyptian society, the German Orient society, the society of the ancient Orient, the German society for Islamic studies, the society for East Asian art and the association for the Far East.[8] The lectures divided Oriental studies into six sub-disciplines: *der Alte Orient* (the ancient Orient/Middle East); *der Neuere Orient* (literally: the more recent Orient, defined as the Middle East since Alexander the Great; half of the lecture deals with the developments in the twentieth century); Islamic art; India; China; East Asian art. The lectures were published under the title: *Der Orient und Wir* (The Orient and us) (Deutscher Orient-Verein 1935).

In 1942, Enno Littmann presented a review of the German contribution to research on the Near East (1942),[9] which was rather similar to his previous account from 1930 (Littmann 1930). In comparison, Littmann mentioned fewer scholars by name in the publication of 1942. Ignaz Goldziher vanished completely, and Eugen Mittwoch became less visible. One might still consider this a courageous act, as Arthur Schaade (1883–1952) did in 1943, in light of the official instruction not to cite Jewish authors or their works. Another adaptation to the altered circumstances was the disappearance of the term "Semitic" (as in *Semitische Philologie*). Instead, Littmann referred to the field as Arabic studies (Hanisch 2003: 155–56). Nothing in Littmann's text indicates, however, that the altered terminology was meant to entail a novel delineation of the field.

Also in 1942, an Orientalist convention was held at Berlin, in the framework of the so-called *Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften* (the humanities' mobilization for/contribution to the war). In most cases, the lectures presented an overview of

past achievements in each specific field rather than any current research projects. As Hanisch observes, the only hint at the concrete historical context, in which these lectures were held/written, is the omission of the contributions of "non-Aryan" scholars in the accounts (2003: 171). Due to war-time difficulties, the lectures were published only in 1944—in two volumes, or more precisely, not in one volume. One collection, edited by Schaeder, was published under the title *Der Orient in deutscher Forschung. Vorträge der Berliner Orientalistentagung, Herbst 1942* (The Orient in German research. Lectures held at the Orientalist convention in Berlin, autumn 1942). The editor's preface explains the context in which the lectures were held, but does not mention that not all lectures presented at the Orientalist convention are included in the collection. There is no reference to any second volume. By placing Ritterbusch's opening address at the beginning and the concluding remarks of the official organizer, Walther Wüst, at the end, the collection gives the impression that it presents the printed version of the entire event.

The six lectures excluded dealt with Semitic and Islamic studies. It seems rather unlikely that they were not included for technical reasons. Schaeder's collection consists of 261 pages. It would have been feasible to add another 60 pages. It is more likely that the decision was informed by the intention to endear Oriental studies to the German public without upsetting Nazi sentiment by reference to anything Semitic. Apparently in return for such consideration, funds were made available to publish not only the six lectures in a separate volume, but to add another nine articles. Given the constraints at the time, this was a very generous arrangement. The collection, in which the editors Richard Hartmann (1881–1965) and Helmut Scheel (1895–1967) state that it is "the second volume," is entitled *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft* (contributions on Arabic, Semitic, and Islamic studies). According to the institutional practice of the field at the time, the title should have been Semitic and Islamic studies.

As mentioned in the introduction, many universities replaced the term Semitic studies with Oriental studies after 1933 (Hanisch 2003: 141–43). The University of Berlin decided to replace the term Semitic by Arabic in the name of the institute for Semitic and Islamic studies to accommodate the new ideological sentiment since 1933. In Hanisch's view, this was a change in name only (2003: 142). She bases her evaluation on the delineation of appointments. By contrast, Ellinger holds that there was a structural change, drawing on the titles of lectures for his interpretation. In his view, the fact that Hebrew was no longer taught (or at least, did not appear in the course titles) proves that the concept of Semitic languages was abandoned (2006: 167). Despite the fact that the evidence is rather weak (we do not know what was actually taught), Ellinger's findings would suggest a change in practice, that is as such not surprising under the circumstances. Such a change in practice might eventually lead to an institutional transformation. But that would require additional evidence, which has not yet come to light.

In 1942, Enno Littmann had opted for the same strategy in his account of the field, without any manifest intention to alter the field's delineation. Hartmann and Scheel (1944) could not possibly make Semitic studies disappear, but they tried to make it less visible by bracketing it between Arabic and Islamic studies.

For that purpose, a sub-discipline called Arabic studies had to be established. On Hartmann's request (Hanisch 2003: 172–73), Johann Fück (1894–1974) wrote the history of Arabic studies for the volume and thus invented the tradition. Fück's contribution became the basis of his book which he published in 1955. When the volume was published in 1944, it remained without impact due to the circumstances of the final stages of the war and the immediate post-war era. Thus Arabic studies had to be invented for a second time.

In light of such an intensive conceptual debate, the high degree of continuity in the actual practice of the field may be surprising. Hanisch finds that, apart from a very few exceptions, the titles of courses offered in Oriental studies did not differ much from those listed before 1933 (2003: 152–53). Hanisch's survey of the contributions to the *ZDMG* (2003: 154–55) found that certain topics vanished, just as a considerable number of scholars/authors. Caucasian languages were a newly introduced topic. In addition, she found no evidence for any substantial influence of NS ideology. She ascribes this to the explicit policy of Paul Kahle, who was the editor from 1933 until 1938, as well as to the journal's traditional lack of interest in anthropological issues. The latter cannot be attributed to a lack of scholars interested in race issues, as the examples of the Arthur Ungnad (1879–1945) and Wilhelm Hoenerbach (1911–91) illustrate.

Ellinger comes to a similar conclusion. He investigates the cooperation between the *DMG*, which was the most comprehensive association of scholars in Oriental studies, and the NS regime (2006: 77–86). He shows that the *DMG* came under official control with regard to the regulation regarding membership, which means that "non-Aryans" were excluded, and to the composition of the board and that it cooperated with the authorities in various projects. In return for its cooperation, the *DMG* received state funding. Despite its close relations with the NS regime, the official journal, the *ZDMG*, remained non-political and published almost exclusively philological-historical studies that followed international standards. According to Ellinger, this holds true not only for the time Kahle was the editor, but also from 1939 until 1944, when Scheel, who was an employee of the *REM*, was in charge (2006: 78).

Hanisch also surveys the annual meetings of the *DMG* and especially the lectures presented there. The list of the participants clearly shows the absence of persecuted scholars at the annual meeting in 1936. The meeting was opened with a pledge of allegiance to Hitler. Otherwise, neither the topics nor the approach of the lectures differed from those presented at the time of the Weimar Republic (2003: 153). The Swedish scholar Henrik Samuel Nyberg (1889–1974), who participated at the annual meeting in 1937, observed that Assyriology was no longer a major field of research, while Iranian studies took the center stage (2003: 153). The annual meeting in 1938 was attended by fifteen foreign scholars and had as a whole an international scholarly format. Two lectures dealt with race issues, one (on the Aryan contribution to Indian philosophy) as a positive approach and one (on races in early Babylonian period) from a critical perspective (2003: 153–54). Only one further meeting took place, namely the convention held at Berlin in 1942.

Her investigation of the fields of research leads Hanisch to the conclusion that despite minor changes, continuity prevailed in most fields (2003: 136). Specifically, she found a decline in interest in Islamic theology/religion, which she ascribes to a more general trend. At the turn of the century, religion was considered a major historical factor. By contrast, religion was seen as obscuring the true historical essentials, namely tribal/national characteristics, in the collection of 1944 (2003: 136–37). The shift may not have been so drastic, however, considering that Richard Hartmann did not lose his interest in religion, and Walter Braune (1900–88) focused on Sufism in both his doctoral dissertation and his *Habilitation*. But other scholars, who had also been interested in Sufism, were no longer part of the professional circle: Hellmut Ritter, Max Horten (1874–1945), Georg Jacob (1862–1937) and Rudolf Tschudi (1884–1960) (Hanisch 2003: 138).

Research on Islamic law lost its main representatives, namely Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933) and Joseph Schacht. Though interested in the subject, Wilhelm Heffening (1894–1944) had no major impact (Hanisch 2003: 138). Similarly, research on Arab sciences lost its major specialists: Paul Kraus, Martin Plessner, and Salomon Pines, while Karl Garbers (1898–1990) and Alfred Siggel (1884–1959) entered the field (2003: 139). Hanisch also finds that there was no further interest in the Greek/Hellenist heritage in Islam (2003: 139), – though H.H. Schaeder was a prominent exception.

Assyriology lost several of its leading specialists, some of whom found employment in Turkey. In Germany, the emphasis is seen to have shifted to Hittite studies, probably attributable to the fact that the Hittites belonged to the "Indo-Germanic nations," – as is also been stressed by Ellinger (2006: 300–309). In his account, the major proponent of that trend is Viktor Christian (1885–1963), who had been suspended at Vienna due to his pro-Nazi activities from 1934 until 1936. After the "*Anschluss*," he became a member of the NSDAP, held leading positions at the University of Vienna, in addition to his central role in the discipline of Oriental studies there; he was a *Oberscharführer* (Senior Squad Leader) in the SS and played a leading role in the *Ahnenerbe*, the research institute of the SS. Therefore, it is not surprising when Ellinger finds that Christian was interested in establishing the non-Semitic character of ancient civilizations in the Orient (2006: 303–9). Christian's career is certainly a good example for the decisive influence of political factors on university developments. It would still be necessary to show that the developments at Vienna affected also other universities in order to argue a transformation of Assyriology.

Hanisch bases her evaluation on the appointment of Johann Friedrich (1893–1972) at Leipzig in 1936 (2003: 139–40). This argument may be open to challenge (see Appendix 3), considering that Hittite studies were already represented at Leipzig by Franz Heinrich Weissbach who had been *extraordinarius* for Assyriology since 1905, became honorary professor with special interest in Hittite studies in 1930. Friedrich had been *extraordinarius* (without tenure) at Leipzig since 1929. Thus an emphasis on Hittite studies had existed at Leipzig well before 1933. When Benno Landsberger was dismissed in 1935, the faculty may have decided to promote Friedrich as a valued member of their teaching staff. The reference to the Indo-European lineage of the Hittites in the letter to the ministry shows that it was considered a good strategy. But there is no evidence that it was more than a strategy, as also Hanisch implicitly admits (2003: 140 n. 496).

Hanisch suggest that Leipzig was not a unique case. She observes a similar "reorientation" at Berlin, when Victor Christian was suggested as successor to Bruno Meissner (1868–1947) after his retirement in 1935 (2003: 140). But the developments at Berlin seem even less conclusive than those at Leipzig. Given that Christian had been suspended from his university position for his pro-*Nazi* political activities in 1934, it is rather likely that the attempt to appoint him at Berlin was motivated by the intention to help a fellow *Nazi*, rather than any particular concern for Hittite studies. In 1937, when Christian resumed his position at Vienna, Adam Falkenstein (1906–66) was appointed lecturer, rather than *extraordinarius* as one might expect in light of the fact that he had been lecturer at Munich since 1930. It seems also unlikely that the promotion was withheld for lack of ideological commitment. Ellinger finds that Falkenstein favored a non-Semitic origin of the cuneiform script (2006: 302–3). Hans Ehelolf (1891–1939) remained honorary professor for Hittite studies, a position he held since 1930, until his death in 1939. In 1940, Emil Forrer (1894–1986) was employed only as lecturer, although he had already held such a position at Berlin in 1925 and had taught Hittite studies at the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins University, 1929–34. A lack of ideological commitment is not likely to have been the reason for Forrer's low-ranking position, considering that he worked at Alfred Rosenberg's *Hohe Schule* since 1943. In 1940, Wolfram Freiherr von Soden (1908–96), who was the editor of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (1936–45), was appointed to Meissner's chair. Also in this case, there was no lack of ideological commitment or political involvement; von Soden was one of rather rare cases of university teachers who were dismissed and barred from employment after 1945. At the same time, he is considered to have been a very gifted scholar. His great scholarly achievements provided the basis for the support of his former teacher, Benno Landsberger, who had been forced into exile during the NS regime, that helped to secure an appointment at Vienna in 1955 (Hanisch 2003: 207; *DBE* 9: 357). This leaves the possibility that the appointment at Berlin might have been due to scholarly merit, and that it was not just a matter of ideology and politics.

As a thriving field of specialization, Hittite studies cannot be explained by reference to any particular wealth of sources (the lack of sources is particularly emphasized in Schaeder 1944). Much of its attraction may well have been due to the Indo-European/Germanic lineage which could appeal to growing racist tendencies, including the National Socialists. But there is no evidence for a reorientation from Assyriology towards Hittite studies during the NS regime, especially considering that scholars of Assyriology such as Benno Landsberger, Julius Lewy, Hans Gustav Güterbock, who specialized in Hittite studies, Fritz Rudolf Kraus and Albrecht Götze were forced out of their positions, not for being scholars of Assyriology, but for being Jewish, and in Götze's case on account of his political views.

Moreover, the developments at Göttingen provide an example for the establishment of Assyriology, which had not existed previously (Appendix 3).

In 1934, Wolfram von Soden became lecturer in the field that was delineated as Assyriology, rather than Hittite studies as one might have expected if such a shift was taking place. Already in 1936, von Soden was promoted to *extraordinarius*. When he left for Berlin in 1940, he was replaced by Falkenstein who was assigned to teach Assyrian and Arabic studies. Thus while the personnel involved suggests a trend towards a reorientation on the basis of an ideological commitment, this transformation was not formalized in the delineation of the university positions.

Hanisch finds evidence for another decline, namely the research on Arabic poetry, which had been a major field at the turn of the century. Johann Fück did not continue the line of research begun in his *Habilitation* (1929); Erich Bräunlich, who held the chair at Leipzig since 1931 and was head of the institute, did not pursue his research on Arabic poetry, since he was preoccupied with administrative work, especially as dean of the faculty of philosophy (1937–40), and then with military espionage; and Werner Caskel had been dismissed from his position as lecturer at Greifswald in 1938 (Hanisch 2003: 140). It may be worthwhile considering that poetry was part of the philological framework, since Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) had turned it into a central device for dating and authenticating texts. The decline might be a consequence of the shift away from philology to the study of antiquity.

Hanisch concludes her survey by stating that the decline in research in some fields was attributable to a lack of interest, rather than a lack of competent scholars. Moreover, the discipline appears less homogeneous and structured than during the period of the Weimar Republic, despite attempts at centralization (2003: 140–41). Hanisch's findings contradict Johansen's thesis according to which in reaction to the hostile attitude of the regime towards Oriental studies, more modern research trends were abandoned for the sake of the traditional fields of the nineteenth century, which were considered to be purely scholarly (1990: 91–92). Since Johansen does not provide any evidence to support his thesis, Hanisch's analysis poses a successful challenge. This leaves the question, whether the field actually faced a systematic policy of the NS regime, as is suggested by Johansen and – in a different way – argued by Ellinger.

NS policy towards Oriental studies

Johansen draws in his assessment on what appears to be obvious: the racist aspects of NS ideology made it unlikely for Oriental studies, and especially Middle East studies, to become a concern of high preference. But the obvious might not necessarily be right. In the second part of his study (2006: 277–418), Ellinger aims at showing that it was possible to construct a coherent ideological system that allowed to include the Orient, even if Rosenberg's concept of the "Aryan race" as the origin of civilization serves as baseline.

Starting chronologically, the attempts to establish the non-Semitic origin of ancient civilizations in the Orient lay the basis for the ideological system at the heart of which stands Schaeder's version of Persian/Iranian history. According to Schaeder, the first "Aryan" empire was established in Persia, which was followed by others, such as the Greeks and the Romans, to find its ultimate realization

in the *Third Reich*. The "Aryan" culture in Persia is thought to have influenced and shaped the cultures of the entire region (Middle East), imbuing them with basic, though diluted "Aryan" characteristics (2006: 315–22). As Haridi (1995) has shown, Schaeder draws on C.H. Becker's circles of civilizations. While Becker put Greek culture at the center and its "diluted" version, Hellenism, as the basis for a common cultural bond between Europe and the Middle East, while preserving European hegemony, Schaeder shifts the center to Aryan culture in Persia. Ellinger's investigation shows that Schaeder's framework could be developed into a comprehensive ideological system by means of the introduction of very "flexible" concepts of "race" and "nation." Thus it becomes possible to integrate the entire Orient (including the Middle East) as potential German allies, though mostly not as equal partners, while Jews and such "Aryans" as the "British, French and Americans" are categorized as enemies (2006: 417–18).

Although Ellinger's discussion in this part of his study is very thorough and interesting, his conclusions are neither particularly surprising nor conclusive. It does not come as a surprise that an ideological system has the capacity to integrate even contradictory elements (e.g. Marcuse 1964). In this respect, Ellinger's findings merely show that Johansen's obvious truism has to be rejected. Moreover, Ellinger assembles the "comprehensive ideological system" by drawing on a great range of authors. When they made "their contributions," these authors may not have been aware of the "system," which Ellinger identifies. They might have been part of another interpretive context available at the time. As Marcuse argues, it is even possible that an act of opposition is integrated, quite irrespective of the actor's intentions. In this sense, the findings are inconclusive. It is still unclear whether (and when) this comprehensive ideological system actually existed, and – if it did – what the degree of its influence was. Was it strong enough to provide the basis for a comprehensive NS policy with regard to Oriental studies?

It seems rather questionable whether there was a comprehensive NS policy with regard to the discipline, or any discipline for that matter. Hartmut Titze argues that there was no systematic policy regarding the universities. Since 1933 no serious attempt was undertaken to reform the system of higher education. Already by 1935/6, the failure of partial attempts became apparent. He ascribes the situation to three major factors. The first one is time. The NS regime existed for twelve years and three months, during five and a half of which war was waged. Another factor was the multitude of institutions and centers of power within the ruling establishment that all competed with and against each other over resources, competences and spheres of influence ("*Führungschaos im Führerstaat*"). A third factor was the cyclical changes which determined the academic job market, reinforced by racist policies of ideological streamlining and persecution (1989: 228–29).

As has been described in chapter 2, the universities were in an unprecedented state of overcrowding in 1932. Due to extremely high unemployment and unrestrained anti-intellectual propaganda, student numbers dropped rapidly, shrinking to half their former size by 1939. Though the *REM*, the ministry of education, which for the first time extended its competence over the entire German state, was established in March 1934 (Zymek 1989: 191–92), it had no real chance of planning and

implementing any systematic policy. Rapid developments deprived any policy of its foundation and even required countermeasures which contradicted central ideological tenets, such as the admission of women or the reemployment of scholars who had been dismissed as politically unreliable.

Against this background, the closure of the Oriental institutes at Kiel and Giessen as well as other chairs in the field that were left vacant (Appendix 3, Hanisch 2003: 134–36, Ellinger 2006: 156–64), may be due to the lack of students, rather than to any official policy assumed to have been hostile. A financial rather than an ideological motivation is visible in the appointment policy (Appendix 3), as a few examples may illustrate. After Paul Kahle had been dismissed at Bonn in 1938, the university was in no hurry to find a successor. In 1940, Rudi Paret was appointed, but at first without tenure. Given that he had already held the position of *extraordinarius* at Heidelberg, he could have been expected to receive a proper appointment to a chair when he moved to Bonn. In other words, the university tried to pay as little as possible for an expert scholar who was considered necessary, as is reflected in the appointment of Wilhelm Heffening as *locum tenens* when Paret left for military service. A similar situation arose at Munich. After Otto Pretzl fell in action in 1941, Bertold Spuler was chosen as successor to the chair. But Spuler was preoccupied with his military tasks. Thus Hans Wehr was hired as *locum tenens*.

At Breslau, Carl Brockelmann, *ordinarius* of Oriental studies retired in 1935, and Friedrich Giese, *ordinarius* of Turkish and Islamic studies in 1936. Otto Spies was appointed *ordinarius* for Semitic and Islamic studies in 1936, and Herbert Duda became *extraordinarius* for Turkish and Islamic studies. In addition, Brockelmann was rehired as *locum tenens* (1936–45). Employing a *locum tenens* was an inexpensive option that did not require any long-term commitment on the part of the institution. Scholars employed in such a position include, for example, Helmut Scheel at Greifswald 1938–39; and Hans Wehr at Greifswald 1939–43; Alfons Maria Schneider at Prague 1942–43; Johann Fück, who was hired as *locum tenens* at Halle in 1938, before he was appointed to the chair,[10] and Gustav Haloun at Bonn and Berlin in 1936.

Haloun's career path shows that this employment strategy existed already before 1933. He worked as *locum tenens* at Göttingen in 1930; at Bonn in 1931, and again at Göttingen, 1932–34. Vacancies due to financial constraints were also a feature of the universities during the Weimar Republic. For example, an institute for Islamic studies had been established at Leipzig, where Richard Hartmann was employed as *extraordinarius* (1918–22). The institute was closed in the course of the economic crisis in 1923. At Jena, no successor was appointed to the chair of Karl Vollers. Instead, the university hired two scholars as *extraordinarii*: Arthur Ungnad who specialized in Assyriology, and Heinrich Hilgenfeld focusing on Semitic languages. When Ungnad left for Greifswald in 1919, no other scholar was employed in his place, nor was Hilgenfeld promoted to *ordinarius*. In 1924, Hilgenfeld lost his position, because the university could no longer afford his salary. Only in 1935, Hans Ellenberg became lecturer of Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Two years later, also Hilgenfeld was rehired, but only to the position of lecturer.

During the Weimar Republic, universities had frequently to operate under severe financial constraints, while coping with unprecedented numbers of students during the later years. Since 1933, the financial situation remained difficult, but student numbers plunged. A teaching institution without students loses much of its legitimization. If there had been a process translating ideological convictions into concrete policy, it should not have been difficult under such circumstances to halt all appointments in disciplines deemed unnecessary or undesirable in ideological terms. As Appendix 3 shows, appointments were nonetheless made. While a concern for finances is clearly discernible, there seems to be no indication for a policy targeting Middle East studies. The political intervention aimed not *ad rem*, but *ad hominem*. Scholars were dismissed not because of their expertise, but of their descent, religion and political believes, while some others were promoted for their active support of the regime.

This can be seen as part of a wider pattern, extending also to schools that could be expected to have been considered a high priority in light the large number of pupils involved. Based on the "law for the restitution of the civil service" (7 April 1933), a process for the *Überprüfung aller Beamten in den Unterrichtsbehörden und Schulen* (inspection of all civil servants employed by the education authorities and at schools) was initiated, aiming at the dismissal of teachers of Jewish origin and the dismissal, demotion, or disciplinary transfer of all those who were considered politically unreliable. This was not a unified process; it left room for quite a range of local differences. Nonetheless, the result was that teachers were in general very close to the regime's ideology. At the same time, however, the formulation and implementation of a NS educational concept was not treated as a matter of urgency. The *REM* issued new teaching guidelines for elementary schools only in 1937, and for high schools in 1938. Most school textbooks that had been used during the Weimar Republic remained in use (Zymek 1989: 190–92).

Johansen's sole documentary evidence for the regime's hostile policy towards the discipline is Paul Ritterbusch's address at the Orientalist convention in 1942. It might therefore warrant closer consideration. The convention was held at Berlin in the framework of the so-called *Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften*. Whereas the sciences could be seen to make a vital contribution to the war effort, other academic disciplines were criticized for their insufficient commitment to NS ideology, as was reflected in Rosenberg's *Hohe Schule*, established as alternative to the university, and for their uselessness in practical terms. Since 1940, Bernard Rust, minister of education, and the jurist Paul Ritterbusch (1900–945), rector at Kiel, who initiated the project ("*Aktion Ritterbusch*") and afterwards obtained a position at the ministry for his efforts, promoted a campaign to boost morale by individual disciplines staging a public show of strength, or one might say, of business/academia as usual, despite the numerous scholars who had been dismissed or called up for military service, and despite the war. The first scholars to stage such events were the jurists/lawyers, the historians, the Anglicists and the classicists (Hanisch 2003: 166–67).

Ritterbusch charged Walter Wüst (1901–41), *ordinarius* of Indo-Germanic studies and rector at Munich, who also held a leading position in the *Ahnenerbe* of

the SS, with organizing a convention for Oriental studies and archaeology, while Helmut Scheel, in his function as the secretary of the *DMG*, was responsible for the practical arrangements. Funding was provided by the *DFG* (German Research Association), the military high command and the Prussian academy of sciences. The Orientalists' convention was held in conjunction with another one on Indo-Germanic studies, also organized by Wüst.[11] Attendance at the convention was restricted, by invitation only. Contrary to previous *DMG*'s annual meetings, the organizers invited only established scholars. Those who were serving in the army at the time were granted a leave of absence in order to attend the convention (Hanisch 2003: 168–69; Ellinger 2006: 246–51).

Ritterbusch held the opening address. In Johansen's view, he was admonitory in form and intent, by calling upon Orientalists to prove by their work that the funds which they receive and which might otherwise go to Indo-Germanic studies [i.e. the scholars convened "next door"] are justified (1990: 91). Ritterbusch surely left no doubt about his priorities. For him, Indo-Germanic studies, as part of the German history, had priority over Oriental studies, i.e. the history of others. That is not surprising. But in light of his priorities, Ritterbusch was actually rather supportive in his speech, when he stressed great past achievements of Oriental studies, expressed his hope for future success (defined by relevance) and promised to extend his support (Ritterbusch 1944: 4–5). Also the general setting of the convention and the funding it received indicate that the official strategy was not one of admonishment, but rather one of "hugging" scholars into cooperation. The latter is supported by Hanisch's presentation of the speech (2003: 170), although she refrains from any explicit evaluation or any reference to Johansen's interpretation.

Ellinger considers the event to have been the apex of the interaction between the NS regime and the discipline, its scholars, organizations and institutions (2006: 251). But he also finds that the scholarly lectures presented on the occasion were not political on first sight.

> Many of the expediency-induced, racist, ideological and political details of the scholarly texts – even if they appear on first sight as purely philological – may only be uncovered if placed into the context of the ideologically oriented German policy in the Near East as well as of the war plans and the actual military developments.[12]
>
> (Ellinger 2006: 250–51)

It is rather surprising that the scholars should have refrained from making openly political contributions, to which they were otherwise committed, as Ellinger's rendering suggests. This discrepancy is even more puzzling in light of the fact that this was an event that was explicitly organized as a stage for such ideologically-committed, scholarly statements. Ellinger's supplement-argument that this was not the only occasion on which the "Orientalists could distinguish themselves as pro-NS scholars" (2006: 251), does not help to clarify the matter. Thus there may be doubt whether this was actually the height of collaboration; or if it was, whether the collaboration was as unrestrained as Ellinger argues.

In any case, the event including Ritterbusch's address can be seen as aiming at cooperation rather than confrontation. Thus Johansen has no evidence to support his assumption of a consistently hostile policy towards Oriental studies. At the same time, the friendly intentions of Ritterbusch and thus – by extension – of the *REM* (and other official institutions lending their support to the event) do not imply that any positive policy had been adopted systematically. In light of Titze's findings, the adoption of project-related ad-hoc strategies is more likely than any comprehensive policy. Hanisch seems to come to a similar conclusion. Following Kahle's report, contacts developed between him and Hinz at the *REM* that led to the plan of establishing a huge Orient institute at Berlin, which Kahle was supposed to head. The plan was not realized, in part due to doubts concerning Kahle's political commitment (2003: 147–48).[13] Hanisch sees in the abandonment of the plan for the institute an indication for the lack of any coherent concept concerning Oriental studies at the *REM* (2003: 148). In her view, the situation became even worse, when Hinz left the ministry for a chair at Göttingen in 1937. Afterwards, nobody at the ministry had any professional competence regarding Oriental studies (2003: 149).

Ellinger argues the opposite. In his view, the proposal submitted by Babinger and Hinz in 1933 was adopted as official policy and actually implemented (2006: 186). Although his study contains an impressive wealth of documentary evidence, there is none cited to support his thesis. The absence of any document relating to the adoption of the policy does not necessarily imply that such a policy did not exist, but it increases the burden of proof by means of circumstantial evidence. To support his thesis, Ellinger presents the following argument: The official NS policy with regard to Oriental studies (as part of the universities) comprised two stages. During the first stage (1933–38/9), the policy focused on the purge in order to ensure that only Aryan scholars were employed. In the second stage (1938/9–45), the policy focused on the restructuring of the discipline according to the proposal from 1933. The implementation is surmised on the basis of "its results." Thus it can be shown that many scholars had to leave their university positions in order to serve in various functions related with the war effort. As a result, academic pursuits were hampered or even halted at many universities, with the exception of Berlin and Vienna. Scholars employed at these two universities were generally not called up for military service, and could often make their "contributions to the war effort" at one of the central institutions (2006: 161–64). Thus, indeed, a concentration of Oriental studies at Berlin and Vienna can be observed, although the discipline persisted – under considerably less favorable conditions – also at other universities. The question is whether this can be seen as the implementation of the proposal, as Ellinger does, or as just the fall-out of the war conditions, which also included the political will to keep the capital going.

The second element of the proposal's implementation is the restructuring of the field of Oriental studies at Berlin. In this regard, Ellinger cites two developments. One is the transition from Semitic to Arabic studies which is seen to mark the transformation of the Oriental institute. The weakness of the evidence supporting the thesis has been discussed above. The second development is the establishment

of a faculty for the study of foreign countries (*Auslandswissenschaftliche Fakultät*) at the university in 1940. The scholars who had previously taught Oriental subjects at the SOS (which was not part of the university) were employed at the newly created faculty (see also Appendix 4). These scholars thus obtained university positions, though – apart from Gerhard von Mende (1904–63), an expert on the Soviet Union including Turkish studies – not as *ordinarii*. Following the tradition of the SOS and the expediency of the time, the new faculty focused on the contemporary conditions of foreign countries, including those in "East Asia, Southeast Asia, India, Southwest Asia and Africa." The category of Southwest Asia was subdivided into five sections: 1. Arabia and Arabic speaking areas; 2. Syria and Palestine; 3. Turkey; 4. the Caucasus; and 5. Persia and Afghanistan (Ellinger 2006: 172–75).

The establishment of the study of the contemporary Middle East within the framework of the new faculty was indeed an innovation. One may doubt, however, that it can be seen as transforming the discipline, even at Berlin, given that it was established alongside the existing Oriental institute at the faculty of philosophy. In the long run, this new option of a field of specialization at the university might have affected the established discipline. But the five years of its existence can hardly count as evidence for the transformation of discipline of Oriental studies. In this respect, it also falls short of a realization of the proposal. Babinger and Hinz called for contemporary studies to become a (major) part of Oriental studies. This did obviously not happen. Therefore Ellinger's thesis of the proposal's adoption as NS policy and its implementation seems untenable, just as Johansen's assumption of coherently hostile NS policy towards Oriental studies.

NS projects involving Oriental studies

The lack of evidence for any coherent NS policy towards Orientals studies supports Hanisch's view that project-related ad hoc strategies were adopted. This assumption can be supported by further circumstantial evidence. First of all, the institutional realization of "hard-core" NS ideology was pursued by establishing alternative institutions or by transforming limited parts of existing institutions. Several such examples can be cited.

Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946) as "*Beauftragter des Führers für die gesamte geistige und weltanschauliche Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP*" (Hitler's delegate in all matters of intellectual and ideological training and education of the NSDAP) headed his own special department (Bollmus 2006), which engaged in various educational projects including the establishment of a NS type of university (*Hohe Schule*, in contradistinction to *Hochschule*) in 1938. A central concern was the redefinition of antiquity based on so-called proper race considerations, as is also reflected in Ellinger's analysis of scholarly research, where he uses Rosenberg's views as the baseline for his discussion (e.g., 2006: 300, 310, 312, 314). A number of research projects on Semitic peoples were also undertaken, to demonstrate their difference to the Indo-Germanic ones (Hanisch 2003: 151).

In 1941, an institute for "research on the Jewish question" was established, which was supposed to document the destructive influence that Jews had on other nations especially during the last two centuries. It competed with other institutions pursuing a similar line of investigation, such as the *Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands* (institute for the history of the new Germany) and the *Reichsinstitut zur Judenfrage* (institute for Jewish issues). The latter was originally the chair of New Testament at Tübingen held by Gerhard Kittel (1888–1948) since 1926, until its transformation in 1936. Rosenberg's department established another institute for the study of religion at Halle, in order to replace the Jewish Biblical tradition with an Aryan alternative. Also in this field, it was not the only contender. In 1939, Hans Heinrich Schaeder and Richard Hartmann requested the establishment of a chair for Jewish issues (Rabbinical-Talmudic Judaism) at Berlin, to which they suggested appointing Karl Georg Kuhn (1906–76). The university declined. In 1942, Kuhn became *extraordinarius* for New Testament and Jewish issues at the faculty of theology at Tübingen (Hanisch 2003: 141).

Since February 1943, the activities undertaken by Rosenberg's department became more limited, due in part to the developments of the war, but also due to a personnel change in the *REM* which favored Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) instead of Rosenberg (Hanisch 2003: 151–52). Rosenberg himself might have been pre-occupied with what he considered more urgent matters. Since 1941, he also headed the newly established ministry for the occupied "Eastern territories," i.e., of the Baltic states and the Soviet Union (Ellinger 2006: 257–64).

Another NS research institution, the *Ahnenerbe* (literally, ancestral heritage), a foundation of the SS, was established in 1935 with the intention to study the *Raum, Geist und Tat des nordischen Indogermanentums* (the territory, thoughts and deeds of the Nordic Indo-Germanic race) (Kater 2006). In light of what was perceived as the inadequacy of academic research in the humanities, the foundation expanded its program in 1938/9, to include also special research units on the Near East and on North Africa. The latter was headed by Otto Rössler (1907–91) and the former by Victor Christian. The *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, which Christian edited since 1938, was published by the foundation's publishing house (Hanisch 2003: 150). Although Ellinger categorizes the *Ahnenerbe* as a non-state, "private organization" (*private Organisation*), it could—as an SS project—exert more influence than for example the *DMG*, which is treated under the same category. Part of that influence was the empowerment of its scholars at the universities where they were employed. Thus Walther Wüst's position at Munich was boosted by the leading role he played as scholar of Indo-Germanic studies at the *Ahnenerbe*, while Wüst's presence made Munich one of the university centers outside Berlin. To an even higher degree, this also holds true for Christian at Vienna, which explains why Vienna had similarly favorable conditions for scholars in Oriental studies as Berlin. Rössler, who was unemployed, was actually placed by the *Ahnenerbe* as lecturer at the Oriental Institute at Tübingen, which Littmann headed (Ellinger 2006: 108–13).

Tübingen was the seat of another SS project, the *Forschungsstelle Orient* (research center Orient), established in 1943. Rössler was part of the project, which

was meant to become a major research center. As far as is known, these plans have not been realized (Ellinger 2006: 268–72; Hanisch 2003: 150, 164–65). A third SS project was slightly more successful: the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Turkestan* (Turkistan team), which was to be established within the framework of *DMG*. The preparations began in 1942, but the realization took until the end of 1944. According to the plan, German scholars were supposed to work together with native, Turkish-speaking "specialists" in order to study the conditions in the Central Asian parts of the Soviet Union. The "specialists" were mostly POWs, who could be recruited with the help of Bertold Spuler (1911–90). Richard Hartmann, Herbert Jansky (1898–1981), and Annemaire von Gabain (1901–93) were among the German scholars in the project. It is unclear whether or not some actual work was undertaken in this framework (Brentjes 1985; Ellinger 2006: 266–68).

It seems, however, that the Turkistan team participated in another SS project, the *Mullah-Schule* (mullah school), in Dresden. In light of the military developments at the front in the East, especially after the defeat at Stalingrad, both the army and the SS were in constantly growing need to employ auxiliary forces recruited from among POWs and deserts from the Soviet army. In order to transform these recruits into (effective) military units, leadership with special expertise was required. Such expertise was meant to be taught at the mullah school. The school was set up in a building for which experts from the museum in Berlin adjusted the interior design to "Muslim taste." Only a small part of the original plan to establish a large-scale project was implemented. Imam 'Alim Idris (b. 1887), who had served as imam at the POW camp Wünsdorf during the First World War and later at the mosque at Wünsdorf (1922–24) (Abdullah 1981), was employed as teacher. Jansky joined as expert on folklore, and Johannes Benzing (1913–2001) as language specialist. Due to health reasons, R. Hartmann functioned only as a consultant on Islamic issues. The school actually taught one course from September 1944 until February 1945, when the building was destroyed by an air raid. In addition, the Turkistan team published newspapers for Muslim troops. Benzing served as language editor (Hanisch 2003: 163–64).

The German army (*Wehrmacht*) undertook a similar project, the so-called mullah courses, in order to train the leadership for military units composed of deserters from the Soviet army and recruits from among POWs, which were employed since 1942. Though the main focus of the propaganda strategy addressed the ethnic (Turanian) identity of the recruits, the Muslim component also received attention, since many were Muslims. At Göttingen, Spuler, advisor of the high command of the German army on Turkish issues and army representative in charge of Mullah training courses, organized six such courses for Muslim religious leaders, who were to serve in army units (Hanisch 2003: 162; Ellinger 2006:254–56).

Apart from Spuler, the army also made use of other scholars of Oriental studies, either in regular army units or in espionage. According to Ellinger's survey, about half of the Orientalists serving in the army were charged with tasks based on their expertise. In most cases, this meant that they worked as interpreters. Ellinger lists Erwin Gräf, Rudi Paret, Otto Pretzl, and—as a borderline case—Hanna Sohrweide (attached to the German navy attaché in Istanbul) in this category (2006: 251–52).

Hanisch mentions also Walther Björkman, Walther Braune, Erich Bräunlich, Arthur Schaade, and Otto Spies in this context (2003: 159 n. 569). Gerhard von Mende moved from the army to Rosenberg's ministry for the occupied Eastern territories in 1941, where he headed the Caucasus and Turkistan desk. Also Gotthard Jäschke collaborated with that ministry (Kreiser 1998b). Adam Falkenstein and Oluf Krückmann were sent on a mission to Iraq in 1941; and Walther Hinz worked as a spy in Turkey (Ellinger 2006: 252–54). In addition, Bräunlich seems to have served in military espionage missions (Hanisch 2003: 181).

The Prussian academy of sciences established a special research committee on North Africa in 1941. Its actual work lasted until 1943, and its main project was the funding of a research trip to North Africa, undertaken by Ernst Rackow, in order "to study Bedouin dresses" (Hanisch 2003: 157). Rackow went on a research trip to North Africa on behalf of the academy and the museum at Berlin in 1939. During the Second World War, he was employed as interpreter for the military (Singer 1961). It is not clear from the documentation whether he actually went on a second research trip to North Africa on behalf of the academy (and probably the army) or whether it was a matter of "recycling" in pursuit of funds.

The foreign ministry provided another framework for a project-oriented cooperation with scholars. Thus Hans Wehr received funding for his dictionary project from the foreign ministry until 1938, when the support was withdrawn "for lack of financial resources" (Hanisch 2003: 160 n. 572; Ellinger 2006: 193). Between 1940 and 1944, the foreign ministry in collaboration with the *REM* established 16 German research institutes in European countries, which where neutral, German allies, or occupied by German forces, but not yet place under a "civil administration." In that framework, Karl Garbers headed the institute in Sarajevo, and Herbert Duda found employment at the institute in Sofia (Ellinger 2006: 238–42). Franz Babinger, who had lost his position at the University of Berlin due to doubts (raised by Schaeder) concerning his Aryan lineage, rendered services at the institute in Bucharest. Similar colonial interests, in this case with regard to Africa, were pursued within the framework of a colonial research committee which was established in 1937 by the *REM* in collaboration with the German Research Foundation. Diedrich Westermann, Edgar Pröbster, and Richard Hartmann contributed to the project, that lost its importance after the German troops in North Africa were defeated and the attention was re-focused entirely on the Soviet Union (Ellinger 2006: 243–45).

The developments which lead to the establishment of the faculty for the study of foreign countries at Berlin in 1940 can be placed in the context of the NS projects cited. From its beginning in 1887, the *SOS* in Berlin was conceived as a training institute for civil servants and other personnel required for German foreign policy. Although the lecturers at the *SOS* always aspired to have the institution upgraded to university status, they did not succeed. After the First World War, and especially the loss of German colonies, the foreign-policy requirements decreased substantially, and so did the funding for the *SOS*. Since 1933, the situation changed considerably (Hanisch 2003: 157–58; Ellinger 2006: 168–72). The lecturers at the *SOS* were able to rally official government interest and support, which reflected the change

in German foreign policy, but was probably also the result of the political activism of some of the lecturers.

In particular, Anton Palme (b. 1872) seems to have played a rather active role. He had been lecturer for Russian at the *SOS* since the turn of the century. Already eleven days after the "law for the restitution of the civil service" was issued (April 7, 1933), Palme wrote to the ministry of education requesting that the current director, Eugen Mittwoch, be dismissed without any delay (Hanisch 2003: 119). Despite the intensive lobbying undertaken by Palme in cooperation with Georg Kampffmeyer (1894–1936), the transformation of the *SOS* into an *Auslandshochschule* (college for the study of foreign countries), granting it the same status as a polytechnic, was achieved only in 1936. Palme became its acting director. He explicitly presented the college's task as essential part of National Socialism. Palme was charged with the task to restructure the college in preparation for its integration into the university. (Hanisch 2003: 157–58; Ellinger 2006: 169–70).

But the plans changed in 1938, due to an intervention by the *Sicherheitsdienst* (security and intelligence service of the SS) on behalf of Himmler (Ellinger 2006: 172). As a result, a faculty for the study of foreign countries was established at the university in 1940. As staff members it took over the personnel of the *SOS* and the teachers from the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* (German college for policy studies). The latter had been founded as a private college in 1920. In 1927, part of its teachers formed a group that sympathized with NS ideas, which led to a confrontation with the other teacher. The conflict was "resolve," when most of the latter emigrated after Hitler came to power. In 1937, the college became a state institution (Eisfeld 1991). The dean of the faculty was Franz A. Six (1909–75), a scholar of journalism and a member of Himmler's *Sicherheitsdienst*, with the rank of commander of a unit (*Standartenführer*) (Hanisch 2003: 158; Ellinger 2006: 173).

Six also coordinated the German colleges that were established abroad during the war with the intention to study local conditions in preparation of German administration. Moreover, he headed another institution, the *Deutsche Auslandswissenschaftliche Institut* (German Institute for the study of foreign countries), also established in 1940, on the initiative of the *Sicherheitsdienst*. The institute was not part of the university; formally it fell directly under the supervision of the *REM*. The internal structure followed that of the faculty; and the teachers at the faculty worked also at the institute. In addition, the institute engaged members of various government and NSDAP branches. It seems that most of these had close connections with Himmler. On specific issues the institute requested (and received) the assistance of scholars in Oriental studies (e.g., R. Hartmann, Klingmüller, Rössler, Schaeder, Spies). The main difference between the faculty and the institute was that the latter geared its activities towards practical use, while the former aspired to be also an academic institution (Ellinger 2006: 234–38).

Given the actors involved in the establishment of the faculty, it seems rather unlikely that this was part of a policy plan, drafted in 1933, and implemented by the *REM*, as Ellinger argues. The new faculty remained a "singular" institution, which existed in its specific form until 1945. No other universities followed the example

set at Berlin. If the innovation had an influence on the academic discipline, it is most likely to have occurred by way of some of the scholars it employed. Between 1933 and 1945, the following scholars of Middle East studies were members of its teaching staff: Sebastian Beck, Walther Björkman, Walther Braune, Gotthard Jäschke, Ludwig Peters, Helmuth Scheel, and Hans Wehr (in 1945) (Appendix 4). After the Second World War, Björkman, who had taken up teaching at Breslau in 1944, was lecturer at Uppsala in Sweden (1951–63) and visiting professor at Ankara (1953–59); Braune was appointed to a chair at the *Freie Universität* in West Berlin in 1948 and played a leading role in Islamic studies there; Jäschke taught as visiting professor at Münster (1947–59); Peters was appointed to a chair at Berlin (East) in 1947 and moved to a college for the training of civil servants in 1950; Scheel held a chair at Mainz and played a leading role in the academy of sciences in the Federal Republic; Wehr resumed teaching at Erlangen in 1945, where he was appointed to a chair in 1956; later he move to Münster (1957–74). Beck does not seem to have been re-employed; he died in 1951. Thus, it is possible that post-war developments of the field were influenced by the experience at the faculty for the study of foreign countries. Whether or not, such an influence actually existed requires an investigation that goes beyond the scope of this study.

Scholars of Oriental studies during the NS regime

In light of these findings, Hanisch's assumption that there was no comprehensive NS policy with regard to the discipline of Oriental studies seems reasonable. Ellinger's investigation of the literature has shown that NS ideology could potentially incorporate Oriental studies, including Middle East studies. Whether or not it actually did, is still an open question. As the various projects cited illustrate, NS institutions were ready to draw on the cooperation with scholars of Oriental studies, especially during the war, when it was deemed necessary. It is an open question whether this meant that these NS institutions had adjusted their ideological framework, or whether they just did not let ideology stand in their way to achieving their goals.

Moreover, ideology may not have been as overarching as Ellinger and Johansen seem to assume. August Fischer, scholar of Semitic languages at Leipzig, who is often portrayed as the representative of the traditional philological approach, was an enthusiastic and committed Nazi and an early NSDAP member. At that point, NS ideology was certainly not yet adjusted to accommodate the inclusion of the Middle East in an "Aryan" world. There is no indication that Fischer considered that to be a problem, nor that his profession caused problems in NS circles. At later points in time, membership in the NSDAP or other NS organizations might have been less a matter of ideology. Though also found before 1933, the influence of political connections on employment and promotion decisions became more widespread during the NS period, when it also became possible to enter a university career via employment at the ministry of education (e.g., Scheel and Hinz).

Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that scholars who were not excluded and remained in Nazi Germany had a wide range of potential forms of cooperation

with the NS regime. The option of non-cooperation did not exist, but the degree of involvement could differ greatly, which was not only dependent on the choices a person made, but also to a considerable part on the circumstances and on chance. Whether or not a scholar appears as a signatory on one of the pledges of allegiance to Hitler, for example, may be the result of being in the right or wrong place at the time. Refusing to sign, when asked, would have been a courageous act. By the same token, Turkish studies had the misfortune of being in great demand within the framework of the plans to conquer the Soviet Union. This opened opportunities for scholars who aspired to great careers, and ended with the field being closely associated with NS imperialism. Scholars specializing in other fields within Oriental studies might have followed the same path, if they had been given the chance.

In order to reach a more conclusive picture of the actual involvement of the scholars of Oriental studies with the NS regime, it would be necessary to investigate these scholars individually, as Kreiser did with regard to Jäschke (1998b). On the basis of what is known, it seems that the cooperation may have been quite extensive, even among the more unlikely candidates. Paul Kahle may serve as an illustration. He was *ordinarius* for Semitic languages at Bonn, where he also headed the institute of Oriental studies. Henry Wassermann credits him with having been the only serious scholar in the field of Jewish studies during the Weimar Republic (2003: 203–34). Considering his field of specialization, Kahle could probably be expected to have perceived an irreconcilable antagonism to NS ideology, more than other scholars in the field. But his account of the events suggests otherwise:

> The way in which the first Nazi civil servants treated everything connected with Oriental studies in Germany, worried me a bit. They were anti-Semites and considered all those who came from the Orient to be Jewish. They were often very surprised, when they were informed that there were many non-Jewish Orientals, and moreover that there was a difference between Orientals and Orientalists.[14]
>
> (Kahle 1998: 148)

Kahle's comments were written in England in 1942, after he and his family had left Germany. His wife and one of his five sons were caught helping a Jewish shopkeeper clean up the destruction caused during the *Kristallnacht* ("the night of broken glass") in November 1938. The son was expelled from university, and an intimidation campaign was launched against the family. When unwilling publicly to distance himself from his wife and son, Kahle was dismissed from his position at the university and as secretary of the *DMG*. Due to continuing harassment, the family decided to leave Germany and managed to escape to England in 1939.[15] In 1942, Kahle wrote a report on the University of Bonn for the British authorities, which was meant to assist the Allied forces after the war. The passage cited is part of the report.

His comments illustrate that the Orientalist Paul Kahle did not identify with the victims of the NS racist campaign. Illusionary as it might have been, he operated

on the assumption that the racism of NS ideology was intended to target Jews only. Any hostility towards the discipline of Middle East studies and/or the scholars in the field was interpreted as a misunderstanding stemming from ignorance. To correct the matter, Kahle went to see Heinrich Vahlen (1869–1945), the head of the academic desk (*Amt für Wissenschaft*) at the *REM* (1934–37). Vahlen was not just a civil servant. He had been a member of the NSDAP for a long time, had lost the chair for mathematics at Greifswald due to his anti-republican activities and had spent several years in exile in Austria. After Hitler came to power in January 1933, Vahlen returned to Germany and received the appointment at the *REM* in compensation for his suffering for "the Cause." At the meeting Kahle "had a long conversation" with Vahlen, who then "understood that this was a problem" (Kahle 1998: 148). The practical consequences of the encounter were Kahle's report on the situation of Oriental studies in Germany, which Vahlen had requested, and the discussions concerning the plan to establish the institute at Berlin.

Kahle was not a Nazi, and probably not even an anti-Semite. Thus there is little reason to assume that there was common ground in ideological terms between him and the regime. As a scholar he specialized in Middle Eastern societies and cultures that were certainly not "Aryan." Thus Kahle should have been among the first ones to realize the likelihood of a conflict between the discipline and the NS regime. But Kahle believed that fruitful cooperation was possible, though not without limitations. The latter were not seen as intrinsic to the discipline, but to the individual scholars in question. During the negotiations concerning the Oriental institute at Berlin, Kahle did not doubt the viability of the project of the new Oriental institute at Berlin. He suggested to Vahlen, however, that he, Kahle, would not be a suitable director, since he "was not a Nazi" (1998: 149) Vahlen replied that this did not matter. Later it turned out that Vahlen was ill informed.

Kahle's perception of the situation may have been shared by other scholars. Apart from scholars specializing in "Aryan" Orientals and those that were part of the immediate conquest scheme, scholars in Oriental studies as such had no particular incentive to be attracted to NS ideology. At the same time, however, there is no evidence for the assumption that most of them kept their distance from the regime, as Johansen suggests (1990: 91–92), or that they lived "as spiritual outsiders," as Paret claims (1968: 45). On the basis of the available evidence, it is not impossible, however, that some of the scholars kept their distance and/or managed to remain outsiders. But that has to be established for each individual case. It is also not impossible that the lack of actual conflict between the discipline (or some of its parts) and the regime may have been also due to the absence of any systematic NS policy towards university education and research in general and the discipline in particular. Had the regime lasted longer, this might have changed eventually. But most fortunately, we shall never know.

9 Conclusion

> Why does someone become an Orientalist? Most of those who did have one characteristic in common: an ability to learn languages which is above average, and an inclination to learn languages which already at an early age, extends beyond the languages taught at school. It occurs much more rarely, that somebody is initially drawn to the Orient by specific historical concerns (in the widest sense of the term) and [that he] takes upon himself the difficult language studies [just] as a means to an end, without the hope to be able to compete with the language virtuoso. But the latter's virtuosity does not at all attest to anything regarding his general intellectual faculties and their efficiency: it was said about cardinal Mezzofanti, that he knew some forty languages, but that he had nothing to say in any one of them. The language specialist has to avoid his skills degenerating into an end in themselves; he ought to use them as a means to bring to light and acquire intellectual values, which make his work and thus him himself complete and whole.[1]
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> (Schaeder 1940)

In his rendering (1940), Hans Heinrich Schaeder ascribes Oriental studies the task of bringing to light and acquiring intellectual values, which is rather similar to archaeology's task of digging up and acquiring cultural valuables (artifacts). The resemblance bears witness to the transition that began at the end of the nineteenth century, making the pursuit of "mere" language studies seem insufficient. The focus on values may not only endow language studies with meaning, but also hinge scholarly pursuits on ideological commitments, as Schaeder's discussion following the cited passage illustrates (1940: 3).

Regardless of whether or not they aimed at bringing to light and acquiring values, professional scholars in Oriental studies, including Middle East studies, were exceptionally talented for learning languages—not by coincidence, but by necessity. In order to qualify for a position in Oriental studies at the university, a scholar needed proficiency in the classical languages, Latin and Greek, in modern European ones, German, French, and—to a lesser degree—English and Italian, and for most of the nineteenth century, also post-classical Latin—all these in addition to the languages of his professional expertise. The latter included at least all Semitic languages, Turkish and Persian, and at times Sanskrit, for a scholar specializing in Middle East studies. It may be worthwhile recalling that the Semitic languages comprised Akkadian, Eblaite, Ugaritic, "Canaanite languages"

(Hebrew, Phoenician *et al.*), Aramaic, Arabic, Old South Arabian, Modern South Arabian, and Ethiopian (Brockelmann 1908–13; Bergsträsser 1928).

Oriental languages were not taught at high schools, apart from Hebrew, which was an optional school subject. Thus, scholars working in the field at the university were not only required to know their professional languages, but also to teach them to their students. Moreover, students in Oriental studies could not graduate by taking a state examination, which existed only for disciplines in the faculty of philosophy that corresponded to school subjects. This meant that these students could not obtain an official certification of their qualification and therefore had to demonstrate their proficiency in professional languages by means of pertinent publications, if they wanted to enter a career in the field at the university. The need for such publications did not cease after a scholar was able to obtain his first appointment. The process of standardization of a structured career path formalized a progression through stages (lecturer, *extraordinarius*, *ordinarius*) which often lasted longer than a decade, while hiring became increasingly external. Instead of being promoted at the university at which he worked, a scholar came to depend on an appointment to the next higher rank at other universities, while publications were the main criteria for evaluation.

In light of the situation, scholars had to gear their main efforts towards the studies, research, and publications required for establishing and upholding their professional philological credentials, apart from fulfilling their obligations as language teachers. Any other research they may have been interested in could only be undertaken in addition to, not instead of, these primary occupational concerns. It is also obvious that a scholar who was interested in studying the culture and history of the Middle East, but had no particular talent for learning languages, had not much of a chance to embark on a professional career at the university. In comparison with more talented scholars, he was bound to appear as the less qualified candidate. In case he was nonetheless able to enter the career, such a scholar was even less likely than his colleagues to have sufficient energy and time for extending his research beyond philology. Thus the study of Middle Eastern societies and their history remained necessarily a sideline in the German tradition of Oriental studies.

The present study has attempted to provide an explanation for this state of affairs by investigating the rise and development of Oriental studies from the vantage point of scholars who pursued a career in the discipline at the university. Oriental studies did not emerge due to any particular concern for the Orient. Rather, the first chairs in the new discipline, defined as Oriental philology, were established in the early nineteenth century, in the course of the transformation of the faculty of philosophy for the purpose of training of high-school teachers. These developments coincided with wider processes of transformation.

The process of "temporalization" (Koselleck), i.e., the discovery of time as a relevant factor, which affected all academic disciplines around 1800, shifted the emphasis in philology to the classical period, while neo-humanism "split" classical antiquity into two, by allotting central importance to classical Greek language and literature alongside classical Latin (Rome). Latin schools that had previously

provided the education in preparation for university studies were replaced by *Gymnasia*, in the wake of the disappearance of Latin as academic *lingua franca*, which coincided with school and university reforms due to processes of the centralization of state power. As a result, Latin provided no longer the integrative concept of education, and an alternative had to be found, which came to focus on the formal structures of grammar and logic.

In that context, Sanskrit and the conception of an Indo-European language family can be shown to have provided classical philology with a means to bracket classical Rome and Greece, while setting them apart from their Oriental neighbors, and introduced the study of modern European languages, in particular German, to the field of academic research. Since a family of languages was thought to be based on common grammatical structures, grammar studies in the framework of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics were essential for the constitution of the modern discipline of philology. For the sake of its own legitimization, philology required the study of all known languages (including Oriental ones) to identify in detail the actual common grammatical structures among all Indo-European languages in counter-distinction to other known languages, preferably to other language families.

The need for a comparative perspective provided an opening for the study of Semitic languages in Oriental philology, at a time when interest in the latter also arose among theologians. The process of temporalization gave rise to a historical-literary approach to Biblical studies in theology that not only inspired Friedrich August Wolf, the leading scholar in modern classical philology, but also called for a philological approach to Oriental languages. Within this theological current, Heinrich Ewald laid the foundations for the concept of Semitic languages based on comparative grammar studies. The interplay of the theological and philological currents led to the introduction of Oriental philology as a minor discipline at the faculty of philosophy. Within Oriental philology, the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics appear to have served a different function for classical philology, the leading discipline at the faculty, than the study of Semitic (and other Oriental) languages, placing the latter in a weaker position at the faculty.

The difference was balanced, however, by financial considerations. Given that German universities at the time were rather small (most of them had less than 500 students), establishing one or even two new chairs in a minor discipline was beyond their financial means, apart from a few major institutions. The fact that, nonetheless, a considerable number of such chairs could actually be established was due to students of theology, who were obliged to study Oriental languages, especially Hebrew, for the purpose of Biblical exegesis. In particular, smaller universities were able to establish chairs in Oriental philology on a viable financial basis, by adding the task of teaching languages to students of theology to the assignments. The employment policy shifted the emphasis towards Semitic languages, redressing the functional imbalance with regard to philology.

Thus, alongside with chairs for classical philology, history, philosophy, and mathematics, a chair for Oriental languages became one of the five basic chairs that a

proper faculty of philosophy was expected to have during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Though not all German universities were able to live up to expectations, many did, which allowed scholars to pursue the study of Oriental philology as a professional career at German universities. More than twenty universities where the language of instruction was German belonged to a decentralized system extending beyond state borders, which emerged in the wake of Latin's disappearance as the academic *lingua franca* by the end of the eighteenth century, in combination with the impact of the education and university reforms that were undertaken in the first half of the nineteenth century. These "German" universities established similar institutional structures, allowing for mutual recognition of each other's academic degrees, ranks, and professional qualifications. They constituted the "labor market" for scholars seeking professional university careers that came to be conditioned on scholarly publications in German (except for doctoral dissertations that continued to be written in Latin for most of the nineteenth century).

Throughout the system, the institutional setting of Oriental philology could vary from separate chairs for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics and for Semitic and other Oriental languages at major universities, to chairs meant to cover the entire range from languages studies for Biblical exegesis to Sanskrit at smaller universities. The different requirements called for a wide range of qualifications for scholars who sought appointments to the new positions in Oriental philology. It was in this context that Silvestre de Sacy made an important contribution, although he adhered to the concept of the *grammaire générale*, rather than comparative linguistics as developed in philology at German universities. He provided his students with a competitive edge in their pursuit of a professional career in the discipline at German universities, by teaching them a method/technique to study and to teach themselves and others any foreign language, in particular Oriental ones.

The new discipline of Oriental philology was established with an inherent functional distinction. Sanskrit studies and comparative linguistics played a special role with regard to classical philology and the rise of the study of modern European languages, in particular German, as academic disciplines, while the study of Semitic (and other Oriental) languages provided (classical) philology with a comparative perspective and served theological requirements. In light of the functional distinction, institutional differentiation could be expected to occur in an early stage. Apart from a few cases, however, it spread throughout the university system only since the 1870s. The delay was due to a marked slow-down in the general development of universities, caused by considerably reduced student numbers between 1850 and 1870. Considering the impact on the discipline of Oriental philology, it seems that in particular scholars of Middle Eastern languages were adversely affected.

The advancing institutional separation between the faculties of theology and philosophy, a strategy of monopolization adopted by the faculty of theology in order to control (and limit) critical historical studies of Biblical texts, and fierce competition over scarce students deprived positions at the faculty of philosophy which focused on the study of Semitic languages of their auxiliary function for theology and hence of their financial basis. Moreover, the hold in university expansion also interrupted

the process of institutionalization of positions for the study of German and other modern European languages, channeling scholars interested in these fields into positions for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics instead. These came to compete with scholars specializing in Semitic languages over scarce university positions, due to limited institutional differentiation within the discipline of Oriental studies. The competition gave rise to a claim to preference for Indo-European languages (which could draw on Ernest Renan), thus challenging the legitimacy of positions for the study of Semitic languages.

Scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages were nonetheless able to weather the unfavorable conditions mainly due to two external factors. The first one resulted from the development of libraries. In addition to their practical purposes, libraries fulfilled a representational function. Especially state and university libraries, as symbols of national greatness and glory, were meant to possess and display valuable (primarily, in the sense of impressive looking) manifestations of the human mind. Since the 1840s, a growing number of libraries acquired Oriental manuscript and book collections, mostly from the Middle East, and needed librarians, who were literate in these languages. At that point, work as librarian was not yet a formalized profession. A formalized training and career path was established only in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, libraries provided alternative or additional employment options for scholars of Semitic languages, without the additional burden of undergoing a full course of professional training as librarians. The library as potential place of employment also explains why Ottoman Turkish and Persian were a part of the "canon" of languages that were studied and taught, although the formal delineation of the (sub)discipline was based on the philological concept of Semitic languages.

The second external factor supporting the stand of scholars specializing in Middle Eastern languages was the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (*DMG*—German Oriental Society) and its institutionalized presence at the annual conventions of philologists. On the initiative of professional scholars in the discipline of Oriental philology, the *DMG* was established as a support and fund-raising organization in 1845, which became feasible at that time due to growing public interest in the wake of Prussia's diplomatic concerns in the Near East, the establishment of the joint British–Prussian episcopate at Jerusalem, and the spectacular Egyptian artifacts which K. R. Lepsius brought to Berlin (1846). On the scholarly side, the *DMG* can be shown to have been based on a coalition of scholars pursuing different fields of specialization, all of whom had, for varying reasons, vested interests in *Oriental* philology and thus opposed trends giving preference to the European lineage in comparative linguistics. Their collective presence as panel under the title of Orientalist convention backed by the *DMG*, at the annual convention of philologists, established scholars of Semitic languages as philologists belonging to the wider field of Oriental studies. The setting allowed for the claim that their discipline was more than just an auxiliary field of theology.

Since the 1870s, university expansion resumed owing to rising student numbers, including processes of disciplinary differentiation and institutionalization which had been halted since mid-century. It was in this context, rather than in

the mid-1880s, when German foreign policy also developed interests in the world outside Europe, including the Middle East, that the institutional separation between Semitic languages and Sanskrit/comparative linguistics proceeded and that new positions in both disciplines were established. Moreover, the two factors which enabled scholars of Semitic languages to withstand the difficulties since mid-century eventually found a formal representation when universities established institutes for Oriental studies headed by an *ordinarius* for Semitic languages, which were first and foremost libraries, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

The second process of differentiation is the emergence of Assyriology as a field of specialization in the study of Semitic languages which began at Berlin in 1875 and was first institutionalized on the level of a chair in the 1890s. My study finds that the rise of Assyriology was not due to an internal development, and that the main impetus came from outside the discipline, even from outside the university. Following S. Marchand, the changing concept of the museum can be traced, which transformed from an exclusive collection to a public display (expressing national/imperial grandeur). Spurred by the examples set in London and Paris and by Schliemann's spectacular excavation of the "historical Troy," these displays became increasingly expected to show genuine historical relics rather than just their images (plaster casts) since the 1870s. Hence archaeological excavations were deemed necessary as national projects.

Since the political situation in Italy and Greece did not allow for German excavation projects or for the export of their finds, attention shifted to the Ottoman side of the Mediterranean, inevitably transgressing the boundaries of classical Greece. In light of the overwhelming public fascination with archaeological finds, the pursuit of valuable ancient artifacts as paraphernalia of imperial power did not remain limited to those of the Hellenistic period, but was extended also to Mesopotamia and Egypt. After initial developments, triggered by finds of British excavations, Assyriology as a field of research fully emerged in the context of German excavations, especially the two large-scale projects at Babylon and Assur.

The establishment of Assyriology as a discipline was facilitated by a wider transformation. While time as a factor can be said to have been discovered around 1800, it appears that space as a relevant factor was discovered around 1900, possibly on the basis of the experience of the German *Reich* as territorial state and the territorial division of the colonial world. While digging up artifacts in order to carry them away, archaeological excavations conceptually attached culture to the material world and to specific geographical locations, giving rise to the concept of the history and culture of such a specific location. The so-called *Realien* were introduced alongside philology. Under the pressure of severe public criticism of the emphasis on classical languages in high school education, classical philology transformed into the study of (classical) antiquity (*Altertumswissenschaft*), incorporating archaeology together with history, in the 1890s.

The disciplines of Assyriology and Egyptology were conceived in the same fashion, namely as the history and culture (including philology) of ancient Egypt and Assyria. Parallel developments can be found in the rise of Indian studies

(*Indologie*), Sinology, and African studies, all of which were not limited to the time of antiquity, but extended to the present. Also a historical conception of Indo-European languages emerged. It was thus precisely in the German imperial phase that the new work opportunities in the field of Assyriology drew the attention further back into the past rather than to the present. At the same time, excavations projects entailed that scholars could travel to the Middle East as part of their work and experienced contemporary societies there.

The rise of Islamic studies is the third development towards differentiation. The present study suggests that Islamic studies may actually have been just a heading (possibly a misnomer) under which different trends can be discerned. Both Nöldeke and Goldziher made outstanding contributions to the study of Islam, which were based on a concept of Islam as religion. Islamic studies as it emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century had a different framework, however. It comprised two main trends. One was the attempt to introduce the study of the modern Middle East as an academic field of specialization at the university, in a bid for university employment made by the few scholars, under the lead of Martin Hartmann, who had been able to spend some time in region. This has remained a minor trend, due to limited travel opportunities, also after the First World War (until 1926).

The second, major trend stemmed from concerns of scholars who were professional philologists of Semitic languages. The transformation of the disciplines in the humanities due to the introduction of space as a factor, and in particular of the hitherto leading discipline of classical philology together with the rise of Assyriology, Egyptology, and Indian studies, called the legitimacy of studying Semitic languages as "mere" philological pursuit into question. A transition to the history and culture of the Middle East were required. In other words, Middle East studies should have emerged in order to follow the general trend. There are indications that the discipline gradually developed in this direction, including, for example, the establishment of the institutes and the rise of studies on Ottoman and later Turkish history and culture.

The development was hampered by several factors. One was a terminological and/or territorial problem. The transformed discipline could not be called Middle East studies, not even Near East studies, because these terms referred to territory already occupied by other disciplines (Assyriology, Egyptology, and Palestine studies in Theology). It appears that the term "Islamic studies" has been chosen in default of a proper term, in the hope that it would allow to build a coalition including the other trends and that it would be marketable in the imperial/colonial era (C. H. Becker). But it had the disadvantage of a misnomer, lacking the called-for territorial reference. This may explain why it was not the only default strategy adopted. Another one was, for example, the adoption of the term Oriental studies instead of Oriental philology. The ensuing lack of conceptual focus in the discipline did not enhance the development either.

Another hindering factor was timing. The new trend emerged too late to gain institutional representation before the First World War, and the difficulties and crises during the Weimar Republic gave rise to conditions unfavorable to the crystallization of novel academic fields of specialization. Last, but not least, Middle East/Islamic

studies lacked the main incentive for massive official support and funding. Although Islamic art had made a spectacular public appearance at the exhibition in 1910, there were no real prospects for the acquisition of impressive collections of valuable artifacts from the Muslim Middle East for German museums. The Ottoman authorities were much stricter on the export of artifacts from the Muslim period and the outbreak of the war put excavation projects on halt.

Thus Middle East studies, defined as Arabic and Islamic studies, were not properly established institutionally during the first half of the twentieth century. The crystallization of Islamic studies was very slow and incomplete, while also Arabic studies remained part of the wider field of Semitic languages, despite the development towards specialization during the Weimar Republic. Only, the general trend in the discipline to avoid as far as possible public references to Semitic languages, out of consideration for NS sentiments, gave birth to delineation of the research tradition of Arabic studies in 1942 (Fück). Since it was published only in 1944, it drowned during the last stages of the war and the immediate period afterwards. Thus it had to be reinvented in 1955, by the publication of Johann Fück's extended version of his study, which included Islamic studies.

Since the present investigation has focused on the conception of the field, it may be worthwhile stressing the necessity of studies on individual scholars, whose lives and work cannot be understood on this basis alone, as was illustrated by the individual strategies which scholars adopted during the NS period. Though on the level of concepts, there is no particular affinity between Middle East studies and NS ideology, it cannot be taken for granted that this was actually the way in which scholars saw it at the time. Contrary to what Paret and Johansen suggest, the discussion here (drawing on Hanisch and Ellinger) has shown that there is no evidence to support the assumption that most scholars in Middle East studies who stayed and worked in Nazi Germany kept their distance from the regime. The degree of cooperation may have varied considerably from one person to another and certainly warrants a specific investigation for each individual case. Nonetheless the examples reviewed here suggest that cooperation was the rule rather than the exception. By staying in the profession or joining it during and after the persecution of their colleagues, most of these scholars became part of the NS heritage that began in 1933 and often lasted beyond 1945.

Contrary to what Ellinger's analysis might suggest this does not imply that all scholarly work done during that period came to be based on NS concepts. For example, Wehr's dictionary, which received funding from the German foreign ministry, can be used without the need to adopt NS ideology. In other words, scholars who cooperated with the NS regime may, or may not, have adopted (parts of) NS concepts. Even in the latter case, it cannot be taken for granted that these concepts had a bearing on their scholarly work. It is a matter for concrete investigations to establish the actual presence of such an impact as well as its extent. The same holds true for the evaluation of scholars who pursued a career at the university during other periods. The conception of the institutional framework, in which they were employed, shaped their scholarly work, as this study tries to show. At the same time there is room for the assumption that this was not

the only factor which determined their scholarly work. For example, the fact that manuscripts and books were brought to libraries made them research objects. The scholars themselves were often not involved in the choice of books acquired. The reasons why these books were brought do not necessarily determine why someone reads them or what such a reader makes of them, even if he receives his salary from the institution that decided to acquire the books. Thus the political aspirations that led to the acquisition of books can be seen to have shaped the discipline or academic field, while the question in how far the research undertaken in the field was actually determined by the political aspirations is a matter for concrete investigation.

Shifting the perspective from the research tradition of Middle East studies to the scholars and the institutional framework in which they were employed allows us to present a coherent historical narrative of the development of the field and to suggest an alternative reading of a number of issues to what is commonly found in the literature. While Sacy's work in Paris is usually identified as marking the beginning of the modern tradition in Middle East studies, this study shifts the perspective to developments in theology and philology at German universities which gave rise to conditions that allowed adopting Sacy's method (but not his concept). While the establishment of the modern discipline is usually seen as a process of its liberation from theology as the framework of the pre-modern approach to Oriental languages, this study finds that theology made a positive, even vital contribution to the emergence of the modern discipline.

Moreover, the discipline of Oriental studies is usually thought to have had a subject matter of its own, for the investigation of which it adopted a scholarly method following the model provided by classical philology, the leading discipline. By contrast, my study suggests that classical philology depended on the study of Oriental languages as philological inquiry for its own constitution and legitimization. These requirements not only determined the methodological approach in Oriental studies, but also delineated its subject matter. Moreover, they introduced a functional distinction between Sanskrit and Semitic (and other Oriental) languages, which gave rise to a process of institutional differentiation in the discipline of Oriental studies.

While the processes of differentiation of fields of specialization not related to the Middle East since the rise of Islam, namely the study of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics/Indian studies, and Assyriology, are usually not considered relevant and have received little attention in the literature on the history of Middle East studies, the present study shows that these developments had nonetheless decisive consequences for the field of Middle East studies, since the latter were, in disciplinary terms, part of Oriental studies. The framework of Oriental studies as a minor discipline at the faculty of philosophy even sheds some new light on the emergence of Islamic studies conceived as constitutive part of Middle East studies.

The rise of Islamic studies is widely discussed in the literature and tends to be attributed to German foreign-policy interests in the region since the late 1880s. The present study suggests that the impact of political interests was much more

mediated. Rather than representing a case in which imperial/colonial aspirations directly determined academic pursuits, Islamic studies appear as fall-out of the transformation of related disciplines in the humanities. The transformation resulted from a public controversy over German high-school education. Its actual direction was shaped by the public political pursuit of collectable artifacts, including Oriental ones, for display at museums, as trappings of imperial and national power and glory. In light of these findings, there may be room to reconsider Georg Stauth's thesis (1993), which rejects Said's emphasis on politics and argues that colonialism is not limited to the actual domination over another society, but can also take the form of a collective identity project of the dominating "self," that does not require the presence of actual colonies. In these terms, the pursuit of Oriental artifacts can surely be seen as a colonial venture. Contrary to Stauth's thesis, however, it seems not to have stemmed from any leaning towards *Innerlichkeit* (the introvert essence), but rather from the importance attached to "keeping up appearances" (*Äusserlichkeiten*), which was not even particularly German.

The present study has attempted to present an alternative to the two options usually adopted in the literature for approaching disciplinary history, namely as a history of ideas constituting a discourse and/or as politics of "Orientalism." Choosing an approach of social-cultural history and taking the scholars who pursued a professional career at the university as a vantage point allows presenting an alternative historical account of the development of Middle East studies in the framework of the discipline of Oriental studies. The emergence and development of the discipline of Oriental philology, including the study of Middle Eastern languages, can be shown not to have stemmed from any immediate concern for the Orient, or the Middle East, but rather from the pursuit of Oriental languages, manuscripts, and books, as well as artifacts, mainly for German/European representational projects. This was not necessarily due to any lack of concern regarding the Orient/Middle East. There were periods during which an active foreign policy towards the region was pursued. As the survey of publications in German on contemporary Middle Eastern topics shows, a public interest in the region also existed throughout the period under investigation. But these interests tended to be channeled into other venues than the discipline of Oriental studies.

For most of its history investigated here, the discipline did not include the study of the contemporary Middle East. Scholars specializing in contemporary issues had to seek employment outside the university, especially at the *SOS* (school for Oriental languages) established in Berlin in 1887 and its counterpart in Vienna. The establishment of a two-track institutional framework for Oriental studies (at the university and at the *SOS*) was primarily a function of the recruitment policy for the higher levels of the civil service, which gave almost exclusive preference to candidates holding a degree in law, and of an educational policy that restricted access to university studies. It might be arguable that scholars interested in contemporary issues were probably more prone to participate in colonial ventures, since these offered a career opportunity, while their access to university employment was blocked, as the scholars who participated in the German *jihad*-project during the First World War illustrate (Hagen 2004).

Scholars interested in the contemporary Middle East and Orient might thus appear as the villains in the history of Orientalism. While quite a number of them can be shown to have held racist views and promoted colonial policies, there is reason to doubt that such a general characterization of the field as such can be inferred and that the causal connections even in cases of identified "villains" can be just assumed. For example, there is no evidence (yet) that Martin Hartmann was hired at the SOS because of his racist view. It is also not likely that he would have adhered to less racist views had he been appointed to a chair at the university or pursued a totally different profession. Moreover, his (or anybody else's) views are not an inevitable or inherent function of the study of the contemporary Middle East, nor are only contemporary studies prone to political and/or ideological involvement. Assyriology owed its establishment as a discipline to imperial aspirations, and later the field made a major contribution to the "Aryan" version of history, while some of its scholars volunteered more than their scholarly expertise, in their participation in the NS regime.

It is obvious why the NS regime was interested in the study of the contemporary societies, which it intended to conquer. But that does not mean that contemporary studies are inherently a NS tradition, as Ellinger holds in his criticism of the rise in studies on the contemporary Middle East within German academic frameworks since the 1960s (2006:445–48). By the same logic, one would have to argue that the fact that salaried positions for lecturers at the university were first introduced by the NS regime implies that it is a NS practice that cannot be adopted without upholding a NS tradition. Ellinger's equation of state funding for contemporary studies with colonialism seems much too simplistic, while it diverts the attention from a more tangible NS heritage. My discussion of the NS period, which draws also on Ellinger's study, clearly shows that scholars in the field (and not only those specializing in contemporary societies) actively cooperated with the regime. The fact that many of these scholars were employed at universities after 1945 means that the discipline has a NS heritage that needs to be acknowledged and investigated, including also the question what impact that heritage actually had.

While it is conventionally assumed that the scholars in a discipline define their research subject and methods, this study has tried to show that the establishment of the discipline and the major stages in its development were actually determined by factors outside the discipline itself. This certainly shaped the way the Middle East and the Orient were studied and conceived. The heteronomous development of the field does not appear to have been primarily a function of its subjects matter, as one might expect in light of the Orientalism debate, but rather of its constitution as a minor discipline at the university. The investigation of the development of the discipline has tried to explain why universities were systematically prepared to allot part of their financial resources to the establishment, upkeep, and development of the discipline. The institutional *raison d'être* of the discipline does not explain why individual scholars entered and pursued the profession, and it certainly does not exclude the possibility that scholars undertook their work out of genuine enthusiasm for Oriental languages, literature, history, and culture. The present study cannot, nor does it intend to, replace studies on the life and work of individual scholars. It aims,

however, at providing a narrative framework for such studies. Irrespective of his motivation for his research, a scholar had to take the institutional considerations into account, in order to be able to make a living in the profession.

An investigation of the institutional setting and its constraints does not absolve the scholars or the discipline from any responsibility, but rather helps to establish what they should be held accountable for on the basis of the choices that were available and were made. Moreover, such an approach aims at extending the range of responsibility. A scholar is not only accountable for his/her own research, but also for the choices made in the context of his/her employment. While Oriental studies did not create colonialism, the discipline and many of its scholars made various contributions to colonial projects, for which they are to be held accountable. But colonialism would not vanish for lack of scholars. Colonialism is a matter of politics, for which also scholars are responsible, not least as citizens.

Despite the exceptional characteristics of the German tradition in which Middle East/Oriental studies were (a part of) a discipline established throughout a large, decentralized university system, the present study may also have implications for the historiography of Middle East studies in other scholarly traditions. Also there, new insights might be gained by an investigation of the institutional framework in which scholars in the field earned their living. In the wake of the Orientalism debate, work in the colonial service has already become a focus of interest. In light of the discussion here, the impact on scholarly research would have to be individually shown rather than assumed, while the investigation should extend also to other institutional frameworks.

Arguing that academic pursuits ("formal Orientalism") are a part of the general discourse in Western society on "the Orient," Said has added "latent Orientalism" to the field of inquiry. By contrast, this study has focused only on scholars in Oriental studies pursuing a university career, i.e., not even the full range of "formal Orientalism." My study is not meant to deny that scholars are a part of the society in which they live and work, nor the relevancy of investigating the general discourse and its interrelations with scholarly work. As the surveys of the writers and writings on the Middle East in Chapter 3 show, there is ample room (and need) for further research. By focusing on one specific section of Orientalism, this study hopes to contribute to a debate that does not essentialize "the West" (or "the East").

Appendix 1

German universities

Berlin (1810) (Prussian)
Bonn (1818) (Prussian)
Breslau (1702, 1811—inc. Frankfurt/O) (Prussian)
Greifswald (1456) (since 1815 Prussian)
Halle (1694)–Wittenberg (1815) (Prussian)
Königsberg (1544) (Prussian)
Münster (1780–1818; royal college since 1843; 1912 university) (Prussian)
Göttingen (1737) (Hannover, since 1866 Prussian)
Kiel (1665) (Denmark: 1773–1852; since 1866 Prussian)
Marburg (1527) (Kurhessen; since 1866 Prussian)
Cologne (1388–1796) (1919–) (Prussian)
Rostock (1419) (Mecklenburg)
Freiburg/Br. (1460) (Baden/previously Austrian)
Heidelberg (1386/1803) (Baden)
Tübingen (1477) (Württemberg)
Munich (Ingolstadt, 1472; Landshut, 1800; 1826) (Bavarian)
Würzburg (1582) (Bavarian)
Erlangen (1743) (since 1810 Bavarian)
Jena (1558) (Saxony-Weimar-Eisennach)
Leipzig (1409) (Saxony)
Giessen (1607) (Hesse)
Frankfurt/M (1912) (private university)
Hamburg: colonial institute (1908)/university (1919)
Strassburg (1872–1918) (German *Reich*)
Basel (1460) (Swiss)
Bern (1858) (Swiss)
Fribourg (1889) (Swiss)
Zurich (1833) (Swiss)
Vienna (1356) (Austrian)
Prague (1348) (Austrian/Czech)
Graz (1586, 1817) (lost university status: 1780s–1850) (Austrian)
Innsbruck (1670) (lost university status: 1780s–1850) (Austrian)
Czernowitz (1875–1918) (Austrian)
Dorpat/Tartu (1802–1918) (Russian)

Appendix 2

Writers on Middle East subjects with more than ten publications

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
246	Wiedemann, Eilhard (1852–1928)	1876–1928, 1941 &2: >1950	Professor of physics
193	*Goldziher, Ignaz (1850–1921)*	1871–1941 &2: >1950	Budapest
165	Hammer–Purgstall, Joseph [Freiherr] von 1774–1856)	29: 1850–57, 1883, 1940–2 &136: <1850 & 2: >1950	Scholar/ *Privatgelehrter*
146	*Hartmann, Martin* (1851–1918)	1881–1921	*SOS*/Berlin
146	Steinschneider, Moritz (1816–1907) [partly under the pseudonym: M. Sider]	1851–1914, 1920, 1925 &18: <1850	Jewish studies
130	*Rescher, Oskar/Osman Reşer (1883–1972)*	1909–40 &14: >1950	Emigration to Turkey in 1928
127	**Fischer, August (1865–1949)**	1889–1947	
123	Rohlfs, Gerhard (1831–96)	1861–1902, 1928–37 &1: >1950	Explorer
111	**Nöldeke, Theodor (1836–1930)**	1857–1923 &1:>1950	
110	*Ruska, Julius (1867–1949)*	1895–1942	History of science (1927–37)
108	**Littmann, Enno (1875–1958)**	1901–50 &26: >1950	
106	Kühnel, Ernst (1882–1964)	1908–50 &23: >1950	Museum/art history
95	**Hartmann, Richard (1881–1965)**	1907–50 &6: >1950	
93	*Becker, Carl Heinrich (1876–1933)*	1899–1933	Since 1916 work at the Prussian ministry of education and culture

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
85	SARRE, Friedrich (1865–1945)	1899–1939	Museum: Islamic art
84	**HORTEN, Max (1874–1945)**	1898–1938	
75	**JACOB, Georg (1862–1937)**	1886–1933	
75	*FRÄHN, Christian (1782–1851)*	1857 &74: <1850	Russia
71	**FLEISCHER, Heinrich Leberecht (1801–88)**	1850–1914 &15: <1850	
67	MEYERHOF, Max (1874–1945)	1902–48	Physician
67	**BROCKELMANN, Carl (1868–1956)**	1890–1948 &3: >1950	
64	*DORN, Bernhard [Boris Andreevic] (1805–81)*	1850–76 &15: <1850	Russia
61	**KARABAČEK, Joseph von [Ritter] (1845–1918)**	1865–1918	
60	KREMER, Alfred von [Freiherr] (1828–89)	1850–90	Diplomatic service and scholar/ *Privatgelehrter*
58	SCHWEINFURTH, Georg (1836–1925)	1864–1930	Explorer
57	**WÜSTENFELD, Ferdinand (1808–99)**	1850–91 &15: <1850 & 2: >1950	
56	MALTZAN, Heinrich von (1826–74)	1863–80	Explorer and scholar/ *Privatgelehrter*
56	GLASER, Eduard (1855–1908)	1877–1923	Explorer/pioneer of Sabaean studies
53	SUTER, Heinrich (1848–1922)	1871–1922 &1: >1950	Teacher of mathematics
53	**SEYBOLD, Christian (1859–1921)**	1886–1921	
52	**HOROVITZ, Josef/ Chajim (1874–1931)**	1899–1929	
51	BANSE, Ewald (b. 1883)	1906–43	Geographer
49	**SACHAU, Eduard (1845–1930)**	1867–1928	
49	GRAF, Georg (1875–1955)	1902–44/53 &7: >1950	Theologian
49	DALMAN, Hermann Gustav (1855–1941)	1900–42 &1: >1950	Theologian
45	BACHER, Wilhelm (1850–1913)	1870–1910	Jewish studies
44	**SCHAEDER, Hans Heinrich (1896–1957)**	1919–50 &4: >1950	

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
42	RÖHRICHT, Reinhold (1842–1905)	1872–1906	Crusades and pilgrim journeys to Palestine
42	**RITTER, Hellmut (1892–1971)**	1916–50 &13: >1950	
41	**SOCIN, Albert (1844–99)**	1867–1904, 1938	
41	**GRIMME, Hubert (1864–1942)**	1892–1941	
41	**BAUMSTARK, Anton (1872–1948)**	1898–1934	
40	**VOLLERS, Karl (1857–1909)**	1881–1911	
40	**FLÜGEL, Gustav (1802–70)**	1852–81 &8: <1850	
39	**MÜLLER, David Heinrich (1846–1912)**	1874–1913	
39	**BERGSTRÄSSER, Gotthelf (1886–1933)**	1911–1938	
38	**TAESCHNER, Franz (1888–1967)**	1912–50 &14: >1950	
38	**KAHLE, Paul (1875–1964)**	1904–47 &7: >1950	
38	**GROHMANN, Adolf (1887–1977)**	1913–50 &27: >1950	
37	**MUSIL, Alois (1868–1944)**	1902–17	
36	**BARTH, Jacob (1851–1914)**	1876–1915	
36	**BABINGER, Franz (1891–1967)**	1910–33 &10: >1950	
35	SCHWIGER–LERCHENFELD, Amand von	1876–1907	Travel
35	TOBLER, Titus (1806–77)	1850–68 &16: <1850	Travel
35	**SCHACHT, Joseph (1902–69)**	1923–39; 1950 &2: >1950 [translated from English]	
35	**HOMMEL, Fritz (1854–1936)**	1878–1929	
34	**STICKEL, Johann Gustav (1805–96)**	1850–95	
34	**SPRENGER, Aloys (1813–93)**	1856–92 &2: <1850	
34	**HERZFELD, Ernst (1879–1948)**	1907–46	
33	**STROTHMANN, Rudolf (1877–1960)**	1910–50 &9: >1950	

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
33	SCHOY, Carl (1877–1925)	1911–27	School teacher: Mathematics
33	DUNKEL, Franz	1905–31	Palestine travel
32*	ERDMANN, Kurt (1901–64)	1928–50 &33: >1950	Art history and archaeology
32	*WETZSTEIN, Johann Gottfried (1815–1905)*	1851–91, 1906, 1929 &5: <1850	Prussian consul, scholar/ *Privatgelehrter*
32	LIPPMANN, Edmund Oskar von (1857–1940)	1890–1933	Chemist
32	**MÜLLER, August (1848–92)**	1872–91	
32	GROTHE–HARKÁNYI, Hugo (1869–1954)	1895–1941	Geographer, writer
32	FISCHER, Theobald (1846–1910)	1880–1922	Geography
31	**STUMME, Hans [Fritz Klopfer] (1864–1936)**	1893–1928	
31	NACHTIGAL, Gustav (1834–85)	1863–1934 &1: >1950	Physician, explorer, and diplomat
31	**DIETERICI, Friedrich Heinrich (1821–1903)**	1848–1904	
30	SIMON, Gottfried	1909–41, 1948	Protestant missionary work among Muslims
30	SCHICK, Conrad (1822–1901)	1865–97	missionary living in Jerusalem and architect
30	**FRAENKEL, Siegmund (1855–1909)**	1878–1906	
29	SUDHOFF, Karl (1853–1938)	1889–1932	Physician
29	STRZYGOWSKI, Josef (1862–1941)	1895–1940	Art history
29	**GEYER, Rudolf Eugen (1861–1929)**	1884–1919	
28	SCHMITZ, Ernst (1845–1922)	1911–21; 1936 &1: >1950	Palestine
28	HENNIG, Richard (1874–1951)	1912–50/56	Historical geography
27*	**SPIES, Otto (1901–81)**	1924–50 &49: >1950	
27	**WELLHAUSEN, Julius (1844–1918)**	1882–1913	
27	RITTER, Carl (1779–1859)	1850–59 &12: <1850	Geographer

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
27	*PRÖBSTER, Edgar (1879–1942)*	1903, 1921–43	Diplomatic service, foreign policy studies; civil service
27	**MITTWOCH, Eugen (1876–1942)**	1899–1936	
26	**RHODOKANAKIS, Nikolaus (1876–1945)**	1897–1935	
26	KIEPERT, Heinrich (1818–99)	1852–1904 &3: <1850	Cartographer
26	BRUGSCH[–Pasha], Heinrich (1827–94)	1855–1902	Egyptology; diplomatic service
26	**BAUER, Hans (1878–1937)**	1910–35	
25	*MŽIK, Hans von (1876–1961)*	1903–38 &2: >1950	Since 1903 work at the national library at Vienna
25	GATT, Georg (1843–1924)	1877–1917	Catholic missionary in Palestine
25	*DIERCKS, Gustav (1852–1934)*	1875–1920	Traveler and scholar
24	**SCHWARZ, Paul (1867–1938)**	1893–1933	
24	SADR UD–DIN, Maulana	1923–26, 1929, 1937–39	Mostly: *Moslemische Revue* (Berlin, Wilmersdorf)
24	*RÜCKERT, Friedrich (1788–1866)*	1869, 1878–80, 1888, 1900, 1919, 1924, 1928, 1946 &16: <1850 & 8: >1950	Left his university position in 1848
24	MOHR, Paul	1901–26	Colonial North Africa, esp. Morocco
24	LENZ, Oskar (1848–1925)	1878–1925	Geography
24	**BJÖRKMAN, Walther (1896–1996)**	1926–44 &7: >1950	
23	MARNO, Ernst (1844–83)	1870–82	Austrian traveler
23	**HELL, Joseph (1875–1950)**	1900–44	
22	**PRAETORIUS, Franz (1847–1927)**	1872–1927	

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
21	Rohrbach, Paul (1869–1956)	1901–41	Writer mostly on contemporary Middle East and German interests
21	Kohn, Hans (1891–1971)	1925–34	Contemporary Middle East politics
21	Guthe, Hermann (1849–1936)	1879–1920	Theologian/ Palestine
21	*de Goeje, Michael Jan (1936–1909)*	1862–1907	Leiden
21	Blau, Otto (1828–79)	1852–71	Prussian diplomat
20*	**Paret, Rudi (1901–83)**	1924–50 &58: >1950	
20	*Snouck-Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857–1936)*	1886–1925	Leiden
20	Schreiner, Martin (1863–1927)	1885–99 &1: >1950	Jewish studies; since 1902 mental illness
20	*Moritz, Bernhard (1859–1939)*	1886–1937	Work at the museum, later librarian
20	*Kaufmann, David (1852–99)*	1867–99	Jewish studies
20	**Hess, Jean-Jacques (1866–1949)**	1900–38	
20	Fitzner, Rudolf (1868–1934)	1890–1918	Austrian violinist writing on his trips to North Africa, Anatolia, and Syria
20	**Ewald, Heinrich (1803–75)**	1853–74 &10: <1850	
19*	Hüber, Reinhard	1938–50 &22: >1950	Politics and economy in the contemporary Middle East
19	Wolff, Philipp (1810–94)	1856–85 &6: <1850	Village priest; in his spare time: Palestine studies
19	Vasmer, Richard	1924–34	Mostly on numismatics
19	Lebrecht, Fürchtegott (1800–76)	1850–3 &16: <1850	Talmud studies
19	*Künstlinger, David*	1897 (Ph.D. diss. Bern), 1910, 1929–37	Poland
19	Hübner, Max	1900–14	Colonial politics in North Africa

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
19	**Grünert, Max (1849–1929)**	1876–1924	
19	**Gildemeister, Johann Gustav (1812–90)**	1862–90 &1: <1850	
18*	**Fück, Johann (1894–1974)**	1925–50 &32: >1950	
18	**Weil, Gotthold (1882–1960)**	1905–39 &4: >19501905–39 &4: >1950	
18	Heuglin, Martin Theodor von (1824–76)	1853–77	Traveler
18	*Vámbéry/Bamberger, Hermann/Arminius (1831/2–1913)*	1865–1914	Budapest
18	*Sobernheim, Moritz (1872–1933)*	1896–1933	Scholar/ *Privatgelehrter SOS*/Berlin
18	*Kampffmeyer, Georg (1864–1936)*	1892–1936	
18	Hirschberg, Julius (1843–1925)	1885–1923	Physician
18	**Bittner, Maximillian (1869–1918)**	1896–1919	
17	**Weil, Gustav (1808–89)**	1846/51–78 &9: <1850 & 2: >1950	
17	Schumacher, Gottlieb (1857–1925)	1886–1924	Templar living in Palestine
17	**Meissner, Bruno (1868–1947)**	1894–1935	
17	Kohler, Josef (1849–1919)	1885–1918	Jurist
17	Helfritz, Hans (1902–95)	1931–7 &5: >1950	Exploration and adventure
17	Blanckenhorn, Max (1861–1947)	1891–1939	Geologist
16*	Wissmann, Hermann von (1895–1979)	1928–46/8 &22: >1950	Geography
16*	Schiffers [Davringhausen], Heinrich (1901–82)	1931–50 &38: >1950	Geography
16*	**Caskel, Werner (1896–1970)**	1926–50 &21: >1950	
16	Sepp, Johann Nepomuk (1816–1909)	1862–1903	Historian and politician
16	Roloff, Ernst Max (1865–1935)	1908–22	School teacher; since 1920 work at the ministry of education

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
16	Poznanski, Samuel (1864–1921)	1895–1916	Jewish studies
16	Neumann, Wilhelm Anton (1837–1919)	1877–99	Theologian/visits to Palestine
16	*Mordtmann, Johannes Heinrich (1852–1932)*	1880–1934	Diplomatic service; *SOS*/ Berlin
16	**Heffening, Wilhelm (1894–1944)**	1916–44	
16	Frobenius, Leo (1873–1938)	1909–37	Ethnology
16	Dietz, Ernst	1910–64 &2: >1950	Islamic art and architecture
16	Bauer, Leonhard (1872–1965)	1898–1933	Palestine studies
16	Ascherson, Paul (1834–1913)	1875–87	Botany and geography
15*	Henninger, Joseph (1906–~93)	1937–50 &42: >1950	Ethnology
15	Mackay, B. Lawrence [Laurence] von	1910–16	Contemporary Middle East politics
15	**Schwally, Friedrich (1863–1919)**	1897–1916	
15	**Schaade, Arthur (1883–1952)**	1908–38 &4: >1950	
15	Froehner, Reinhard	1927–38	Veterinary
15	Brehm, Alfred Edmund (1829–84)	1851–1943 &1: >1950	Zoologist
15	**Ahlwardt, Wilhelm (1828–1909)**	1856–1903	
14*	**Höfner, Maria (1900–92)**	1931–49 &30: >1950	
14	Zwemer, Samuel Marinus (1867–1952)	1909–49	Christian missionary
14	Zambaur, Eduard von	1901–39 &1: >1950	Numismatics
14	Erdmann, Franz von	1854–63 &10: <1850	Dorpat/Tartu; numismatics
14	Schneller, Ludwig (1820–96)	1885–1912, 1933	Missionary
14	**Rödiger, Emil (1801–74)**	1858–76 &7: <1850	
14	Rathjens, Carl (1887–1966)	1929–50 &13: >1950	Geography
14	Range, Paul (1879–1952)	1919–32/9	Geology

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
14	Quedenfeldt, Max (1851–91)	1886–91	Army officer and scholar/ *Privatgelehrter*
14	Paulitschke, Philipp (1854–99)	1851–96	Geography and ethnography
14	Oehlrich, Conrad	1928–31, 1937–44 &2: >1950	Geo-politics of the Near East
14	Nützel, Heinrich	1890–1908	Numismatics
14	*Mordtmann, Andreas David (1811–79)*	1850–79 &4: <1850	Consular service, teacher
14	Lachmann, Robert (1892–1939)	1922–33 &2: >1950	Music
14	Klunzinger, Carl Benjamin (1834–1914)	1865–1915	Physician with interest in zoology, anthropology
14	Haneberg, Daniel Bonifatius (1816–76)	1850–93 &3: <1850	Theologian
14	*Friedländer, Israel Srul (1877–1920)*	1901–16	Jewish studies/ USA
14	*Euting, Julius (1839–1913)*	1877–1934 &1: >1950	Librarian
13*	**Spuler, Bertold (1911–90)**	1938–50 &62: >1950	East European studies and work outside the university during the Second World War
13	*Zetterstéen, Karl Vilhelm (1866–1953)*	1900–35 &1: >1950	Sweden
13	*Würschmidt, Joseph (b. 1886)*	1911–32	Arab sciences; cooperated with Eilhard Wiedemann
13	Sandreczki, Carl (1809–92)	1857–83	Missionary in Palestine
13	Saad, Lamec	1903–29	Quarantine physician working in Jaffa
13	Passarge, Siegfried (1866–1958)	1913–42 &2: >1950	Geography
13	**Lidzbarski, Mark (1868–1928)**	1893–1927	
13	Kobelt, Wilhelm (1840–1916)	1881–93	Physician and zoologist
13	Klippel, Ernst (1972–1953)	1910–42/3	Architect working in Palestine and Egypt, scholar

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
13	*Jäschke, Gotthart (1894–1983)*	1924–49 &10: >1950	Consular service; *SOS*/Berlin
13	*Horovitz, Saul (1858–1921)*	1898–1915	Jewish studies
13	Hansal, Martin L. (1823–85)	1855/56; 1870–85	Austrian consul to the Sudan
13	Günther, Siegmund (1848–1923)	1876–1919	Mathematics, physics, geography
13	Canaan, Taufiq	1910–34 &9: >1950	Palestine: ethnography
13	**Bräunlich, Erich (1892–1945)**	1923–37	
13	*Barthold, Wilhelm W. [Vasilij Vladimirovi Bartol'd] (1869–1930)*	1898–1935	Russia
12*	**Plessner, Martin Meir (1900–73)**	1924–31 &20: >1950	1933 dismissed; emigration to Palestine
12*	Klingmüller, Ernst (b. 1914)	1937–44, 1950 &17: >1950	Jurist; *SOS*/Berlin
12	Wünsche, August (1838–1913)	1891–1906	Theologian
12	Wirth, Albrecht (1866–1936)	1894–1925	Historian
12	**Schulthess, Friedrich (1868–1922)**	1897–1923	
12	**Reckendorf, Hermann (1863–1923)**	1895–1924	
12	**Pretzl, Otto (1893–1941)**	1926–40	
12	Pasig, Paul	1877–97	Travel in Egypt
12	Oberhummer, Eugen (1859–1944)	1902–16, 1931	Historical geography
12	*Kroner, Hermann (1870–1930)*	1906–28; 1941	Maimonides and Arab medicine
12	Irving, Washington (1783–1859)	1850/51/65/69; 1854/65/74; 1877/1902; 1882 &8: <1850	American writer, inc. writings on Muslim Spain
12	Hoppe, Fritz	1905–40	Travel impressions from Palestine
12	*Guttmann, Jakob (1845–1919)*	1878–1916	Jewish studies
12	Eberhard, Otto (1875–1966)	1906–32 &2: >1950	Travel impressions from Palestine
12	Delitzsch, Franz (1813–90)	1863–1927 &8: <1850	Theologian

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
12	Daumas, Eugene (1803–71)	1851–63 &3: <1850	French general who distinguished himself in Algeria
12	*Buhl, Frants (1850–1932)*	1891–1930	Copenhagen
12	Bonné, Alfred	1928–38	Political and economic issues of the contemporary Near East
12	Barth, Heinrich (1821–65)	1848–98 &2: >1950	Geography
12	Alt, Albrecht (1883–1956)	1920–56	Theologian; Palestine studies
11	Winkler, Hans Alexander (1900–45)	1925–36	History of religion
11	Schlechta von Wschehrd, Ottokar Maria (1825–94)	1851–66	Austrian diplomat
11	*Berchem, Max von (1863–1921)*	1892–1921	Scholar/ *Privatgelehrter*
11	Virchow, Rudolf (1821–1902)	1853–93	Pathologist with interest in anthropology
11	*Trumpp, Ernst (1828–85)*	1862–84	Indian studies
11	Spoer, Hans H.	1909–26	Contemporary Syria and Palestine
11	Singer, Hermann	1903–8	Colonial interests, esp. in North Africa
11	*Ruzicka, Rudolf*	1911–35	Semitic grammar and etymology
11	Pfalz, Richard	1929–42	Memories and observations from twenty years in Libya
11	*Merx, Adalbert (1838–1909)*	1864–1909	Theology
11	Marcus, Hugo	1924–36	Mostly: *Moslemische Revue*, Berlin-Wilmersdorf
11	**Krehl, Ludolf (1825–1901)**	1850–93	
11	*Kratschkowski, Ignaz (1883–1951)*	1925–49 &3: >1950	Scholar for Oriental studies at St. Petersburg/ Leningrad

Total number of publications per writer	*Writer*	*Publication dates*	*Additional information*
11	KOTSCHY, Theodor (1813–66)	1857–66 &2: <1850	Botany
11	*HIRSCHFELD, Hartwig (1854–1934)*	1878–1912	Jewish studies/ London
11	GUMPRECHT, Thaddäus Eduard	1850–56 &2: <1850	Exploration of Africa and Arabia
11	GRABMANN, Martin (1875–1949)	1916–36	Theologian
11	GLÜCK, Heinrich (1889–1930)	1916–31	Art history
11	FLEISCHMANN, Paul	1929–40	Travel writer
11	ERMAN, Adolf (1854–1937)	1879–94	Egyptology
11	BURTON, Richard Francis (1821–90)	1854–1930 &1: >1950	Translations of travel reports
11	*BRÜNNOW, Rudolf Ernst (1858–1917)*	1884–1912	Emigrated in 1893

Notes
* = most of the publications were published after 1950
bold = scholars in Middle East studies
italics = peripheral scholars in Middle East studies
regular = writers who were not scholars in Middle East studies

Appendix 3
University appointments

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Basel (since 1460) (Swiss)				
				Greek and Sanskrit
1879–81			Jakob WACKERNAGEL (1853–1938)	
1881–1902	Jakob WACKERNAGEL			
1915–23/38?	Jakob WACKERNAGEL			
				Oriental languages
1898–1917	Adam MEZ (1869–1917)			
1917–22	Friedrich SCHULTHESS (1868–1922)			(Mainly Aramaic)
1922–49	Rudolf TSCHUDI (1884–1960)			Oriental studies
				Indian and Iranian philology
1914–22?	Hanns OERTEL (1868–1852)			
Berlin (since 1810) (Prussian)				
				Oriental languages
1812–20		Georg Heinrich BERNSTEIN (1789–1860) [for continuation see: BOPP below]		

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1830–37			Julius Heinrich Petermann (1801–76)	
1837–76		Petermann (1852–5 Orient trip; 1868/69 consul in Jerusalem)		
1841–8	Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866)			
1846–50			Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici (1821–1903)	Arabic
1850–1903		Dieterici		Arabic
1853–9			Richard Gosche (1824–89)	Oriental languages
1860–74	Emil Rödiger (1801–74)			
1864–75			Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905)	Semitic philology
1875/6–1920	Eduard Sachau (1845–1930)			Oriental languages
1875–80		Franz Praetorius (1847–1927)		
1899–1900		August Fischer (1865–1949)		
1902–7			Josef Horovitz (1874–1931)	
1903–14		Jacob Barth (1851–1914)		Semitic languages
1915–17		Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)		Semitic languages
1919		Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933)		Semitic languages
1920–35	Mittwoch			Semitische Philologie

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1920–31			Gotthold Weil (1882–1960) (*Honorar-professor*)	Arabic
1921–4			Franz Babinger (1891–1967)	Islamic studies
1922–3	Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956)			Semitic languages
1924–34		Babinger		Islamic studies
1928–30			Werner Caskel (1896–1970)	Semitic and Islamic studies
1929	**Institute of Semitic and Islamic studies** (since 1936: **Arabic and Islamic studies**)			
1930–3	Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933)			Semitic languages
1931–44	Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957)			Oriental philology
1936–51	Richard Hartmann (1881–1965)			Oriental languages
1937–45			Herbert Gotthard (1899–~1983)	Oriental studies
				Hungarian Institut [Turkish studies]
1916–35			Wilhelm Bolland (b. 1865)	
1918/24–34	Willy Bang Kaup (1869–1934)			Turkish studies
				Assyrian studies
1875–99	Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908)			Oriental languages (Assyrian studies)
1899–1921	Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922)			Assyrian studies (and work at the museum)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1901–11		Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt (1861–1938)		Antiquity and Assyrian studies
1902–4			Bruno Meissner (1868–1947)	Assyrian, Arabic, Mandaean, Ethiopian
1904–13		Hugo Winckler (1863–1913)		Assyrian studies
1919–35			Carl Frank (1881–1945)	
1921–35	Bruno Meissner (1868–1947)			
1937–9			Adam Falkenstein (1906–66)	
1940–5	Wolfram von Soden (1908–96)			**Oriental archaeology/ Islamic art and archaeology**
1917–20		Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948)		
1920–35	Herzfeld			
1934–45			Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) (*Honorar-professor*)	**Islamic art and archaeology**
1930–5		Ernst Kühnel (1882–1964)		
1935–46			Kühnel (*Honorar-professor*)	
1941–4			Kurt Erdmann (1901–64)	Iranian archeology
1946–51/4	Kühnel			Islamic art &archaeology **Near Eastern art**
1930–2		Eckhardt Unger (1885–~1970)		

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1938–45	Unger			
1941–5/8			Anton Moortgart (1897–1977) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1948–67?	Moortgart (FU/Berlin)			
1846–84	Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–84)			**Egyptology** (also director of museum and head librarian)
1885–92		Adolf Erman (1854–1937)		
1892–1923	Erman			(and museum)
1923–34	Kurt Sethe (1869–1934)			
1928–38			Hermann Grapow (1885–1967) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1938–45	Grapow			
1941–5			Günther Roeder (1881–1966) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1821–5		Franz Bopp (1791–1867)		**Indian studies and comparative linguistics** Oriental languages and comparative linguistics
1825–64	Bopp			Comparative linguistics (and Oriental languages)
1830–6			August Pott (1802–87)	Comparative linguistics
1848–56			Albrecht Weber (1825–1901)	Sanskrit (and work at library)
1850–2			Theodor Aufrecht (1821–1907)	Comparative linguistics (left for Oxford)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1856–67		Weber		Ancient Indian languages and literature (and work at library)
1867–1901	Weber			Ancient Indian languages and literature
1876–1901	Johannes Schmidt (1843–1901)			Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics
1878–84?			Hermann Oldenberg (1854–1920)	Indian studies
1884?–89		Oldenberg		Indian studies
1889–1907	Karl Geldner (1852–1929)			Indian (and Iranian) studies
1902–8	Richard Pischel (1849–1908)			Indian studies
1909–35	Heinrich Lüders (1869–1943)			Indian studies
1910–14			Hermann Beckh (1875–1937)	Indian and Tibetan studies
1918–22			Beckh	Indian and Tibetan studies
1922–5			Hermann Francke (1870–1930)	Tibetan studies
1925–30		Francke		Tibetan studies
1927–8		Johannes Nobel (1887–1960)		Indian studies (and Sinology)
1932–43	Eduard Schwyzer (1874–1943)			Indo-European Languages and comparative linguistics (specializing in Greek)
1936–45	Bernard Breloer (1894–1947)			Indian studies
				Iranian and Armenian studies
1912–20		Josef Markwart/ Marquart (1864–1930)		

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1920–30?	Markwart/ Marquart			
1934/5			Walther Hinz (1906–92)	Iranian studies
1937–40/5			Olaf Hansen (1902–69)	Iranian philology
				Hittite studies
1930–9			Hans Ehelolf (1891–1939) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1940–5			Emil O. Forrer (1894–1986)	
				Celtic studies
1901–7	Heinrich Zimmer (1850–1907)			
				Far Eastern studies
1838–89	Wilhelm Schott (1802–89)			Oriental languages (Altaic, Tatar and Finnish)
1880s			Wilhelm Grube	Sinology
1911–23	de Groot			Sinology
1920–5		Erich Haenisch (1880–1966)		Manchu and Mongolian
1923–31	Otto Franke (1863–1946)			Sinology
1925–36		Erich Hauer (1878–1936)		Manchu and Mongolian
1932–45	Haenisch			Sinology
1936			Gustav Haloun (1898–1951) (*locum tenens*)	
1938/9–45			Annemarie von Gabain (1901–93)	
				African studies
1921–5		Diedrich Westermann (1875–1956)		
1925–6	Westermann			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Geography
1820–5		Carl Ritter (1779–1859)		
1825–59	Ritter			
1863–5	Heinrich Barth (1821–65)			
1859–74		Heinrich Kiepert (1818–99)		(Historical) geography
1874–99	Kiepert			(Historical) geography
1911–28	Fritz Jäger (1881–1966)			Colonial geography
				Law
1888–1919	Josef Kohler (1849–1919)			Comparative law
1936–			**Institute for Oriental Legal History**	
1936–41	Paul Koschaker (1879–1951)			Roman law and comparative legal history (inc. Middle Eastern/ Assyrian law)
			Institute for the History of the Sciences (since 1931: and Medicine)	
1927–37			Julius Ruska (1867–1949) (*Honorar-professor* and director)	
1927–9			Martin Plessner (1900–73) (assistant)	
1929–33			Paul Kraus (1904–44) (assistant)	
1937–8			Karl Garbers (1898–1990) (assistant)	
				Medicine/ Ophthalmolgy
1879–1900		Julius Hirschberg (1843–1925)		Ophthalmology

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1900–23	Hirschberg			Ophthalmology (and history of ophthalmology)
Bern (since 1858) (Swiss)				
1858–81	Aloys Sprenger (1813–93)			Oriental languages
1920?–55?	Georg Widmer (1890–~1955)			Semitic languages
Bonn (since 1818) (Prussian)				
				Oriental languages
1819–59	Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag (1788–1861)			Oriental languages (until 1826 also Old Testament exegesis)
1840–4			Johann Gustav Gildemeister (1812–90)	
1844–5		Gildemeister		
1859–89	Gildemeister			(also library work)
1875–90		Eugen Prym (1843–1913)		Semitic languages, Sanskrit and Persian
1890–1913	Prym			Semitic languages
1906–21			Max Horten (1874–1945)	
1913			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1913–16	Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933)			Oriental studies
1918–21	Enno Littmann (1875–1958)			
1921–23/29			Anton Baumstark (1872–1949) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1921–9		Horten		
1923–38	Paul E. Kahle (1875–1964)			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1925–32			Otto SPIES (1901–81) (assistant)	
1926–35			Wilhelm HEFFENING (1894–1944)	Semitic and Islamic studies (and work at library)
1929–30			Martin PLESSNER (1900–73) (assistant)	
1931–4			Fritz KRENKOW (1872–1952/3) (*Honorarprofessor*)	
1934/5–6		SPIES		Semitic and Islamic studies
1935–44		HEFFENING		Oriental studies
1936–8			Aziz Surial ATIYA (b. 1898) (*Honorarprofessor*)	Arab history
1940–1		Rudi PARET (1901–83)		Oriental studies
1941–51	PARET (1941–1946: army service and PoW; afterwards: temporarily banned from teaching)			Oriental studies
1941–3			HEFFENING (*locum tenens*/Paret)	
1946–51			SPIES (visiting professor)	Semitic and Islamic studies
				Sinology (part of Institute of Oriental studies)
1931			Gustav HALOUN (1898–1951) (*locum tenens*)	

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1936			HALOUN (*locum tenens*)	
				Assyriology (part of Institute of Oriental studies)
1927–????			Albert SCHOTT (1901–45)	
				Egyptology
????–1926	Alfred WIEDEMANN (1856–1936)			
1928–55	Hans BONNET (1887–1972)			
				Indian/ Sanskrit studies and comparative linguistics
1818–30	August Wilhelm von SCHLEGEL (1767–1845)			Sanskrit
1830–40		Christian LASSEN (1800–76)		Sanskrit
1840–68	LASSEN			Ancient Indian languages and literature
1875–89	Theodor AUFRECHT (1821–1907)			Indian studies
1889–1922	Hermann JACOBI (1850–1937)			Indian studies
1922–62?	Willibald KIRFEL (1885–1964)			Indian studies
1927–32	Eduard SCHWYZER (1874–1943)			Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics (specializing in Greek)
1935–60	Gerhard DEETERS (1892–1961)			Comparative linguistics

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Breslau (1702, 1811) (Prussian)				
				Oriental languages
1820–60	Georg Heinrich Bernstein (1789–1860)			Oriental langauges (Syriac)
1880–93	Franz Praetorius (1847–1927)			Oriental studies
1886–93		Siegmund Fraenkel (1855–1909)		
1893–1909	Fraenkel			
1893–1899			Carl Brock-elmann (1868–1956)	
1900–3		Brockelmann		
1909–27 (1923?)	Praetorius			
1911			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1911–13			Arthur Schaade (1883–1952)	Semitic languages, Persian and Turkish
1922–3	Gotthelf Bergstraesser (1886–1933)			Oriental studies
1921–5			Oskar Rescher (1883–1972)	
1923–35	Brockelmann			
1925–8		Rescher		
1929–35		Max Horten (1874–1945) (without tenure)		(and librarian)
1936–45			Brockel-mann (*locum tenens*)	
				Semitic and Islamic studies
1936–45	Otto Spies (1901–81)			
				Turkish and Islamic studies

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1920–8			Friedrich Giese (1870–1944) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1928–36	Giese			
1936–41		Herbert Wilhelm Duda (1900–75)		
				Assyriology
1893–9	Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922)			
1899–1900	Heinrich Zimmern (1862–1931)			
1904–11		Bruno Meissner (1868–1947)		
1911–21	Meissner			
1923–30	Arthur Ungnad (1879–1945)			
1932–45	Theo Bauer (1896–1957)			
				Egyptology
1911–22			Günther Roeder (1881–1966)	
				Indian/ Sanskrit studies
1832–45		Adolf Friedrich Stenzler (1807–1887)		Oriental languages/ Sanskrit (and work at library)
1845–87	Stenzler			Oriental languages/ Sanskrit (and work at library)
1883–8		Alfred Hillebrandt (1853–1927)		Indian studies
1888–1921	Hillebrandt			Indian studies
1921–8	Bruno Liebich (1862–1939)			Indian studies
1921–2	Gustav Herbig (1868–1925)			Indo-European languages
1928–35	Otto Strauss (1881–1940)			Indian studies

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1941–5			Alexander Zieseniss (1899–1945)	Indian studies
				Iranian studies
1922–4			Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957)	
1924–6		Schaeder (without tenure)		
				Theology—Christian Orient
1939–45	Friedrich Stummer (1886–1955)			
Cologne (1388–1796) (1919)				
1919–23			Isidor Scheftelowitz (1875–1934)	Iranian (and Indian) Philology
1923–33			Scheftelowitz (*Honorarprofessor*)	Iranian (and Indian) Philology
1948–64	Werner Caskel (1896–1970)			Oriental and Islamic studies
Czernowitz (1875–1918) (Austrian)				
1911–18		Hans/Johann Reichelt (1877–1939)		Comparative linguistics
Dorpat/Tartu (1802–1918) (Russian)				
1877–95			Leopold von Schroeder (1851–1920)	Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1898–1907		Alexander Michael Karl von Bulmerincq (1868–1938)		Semitic languages
1907–16			Bulmerincq (*locum tenens*)	Semitic languages
1919–38	Bulmerincq			Old Testament and Semitic languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Erlangen (since 1743) (since 1810: Bavaria)				
				Oriental languages
1826–41	Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866)			Oriental languages (inc. Old Testament exegesis)
1849–52		Friedrich von Spiegel (1820–1905)		Oriental languages
1852–91	Spiegel			
1891?–1900		Ludwig Abel (d. 1900)		
1901–10		Georg Jacob (1862–1937)		
1910–11	Jacob			
1911–13		Joseph Hell (1875–1950)		
1913			**Institute of Oriental studies** (2 chairs: Semitic and Indo-European languages)	
1913–41	Hell			Oriental languages
1943–4			Hans Wehr (1909–81) (*locum tenens*)	
1946–50		Wehr		
1950–6	Wehr			
				Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics
1891–1920	Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943)			Indo-European languages
1913			**Institute of Oriental studies** (2 chairs: Semitic and Indo-European languages)	
1920–32	Julius von Negelein (1872–1932)			Indo-European languages
Frankfurt (est. 1912—by private endowments; May 1939 "Aryanization")				
				Semitic philology, Targum and Talmud (literature)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1915–30	Josef HOROVITZ (1874–1931)			
1931–4/5	Gotthold WEIL (1882–1960)			
1935–7			Johann FÜCK (1894–1974)	Hebrew
				Oriental Philology
1917–18	Willy BANG KAUP (1869–1934)			Turkish studies
1930–3			Martin PLESSNER (1900–73)	Oriental studies
1949–53		Hellmut RITTER (1892–1971)		Oriental studies
1953–7	RITTER			
			Orient Institute (modern Orient: from the Balkans to China, esp. Turkey)	
1917/20–70			Philipp RÜHL (Dr. h.c.)	Turkish (and secretary)
				Near Eastern art
1943–5	Friedrich WACHTSMUTH (1883–1975)			
				Indian and Iranian studies
1920–50	Hermann LOMMEL (1885–1968)			Indo-Aryan languages
				Sinology
1941–2			Werner EICHHORN (1899–1991)	
1942–8	Carl HENTZE (1883–1975)			
				Law
1914–15	Paul KOSCHAKER (1879–1951)			Comparative law (inc. Middle Eastern/ Assyrian law)
1943			**Institute for the history of the sciences**	
1946–74	Willy HARTNER (1905–81)			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Freiburg/Br (1460) (Baden/previously Austrian)				
				Oriental languages
1893–1908		Hermann RECKENDORF (1863–1924)		
1907			**Institute of Oriental studies**	
1908–24	RECKENDORF			
1925–7			Joseph SCHACHT (1902–69)	
1927–9		SCHACHT		Semitic, Turkish, and Islamic studies
1929–32	SCHACHT			Semitic, Turkish, and Islamic studies
1940			Oluf KRÜCKMANN (1904–84) (military service and PoW until 1946)	Assyrian studies
1949–64		KRÜCKMANN		Assyrian studies
1964–74?	KRÜCKMANN			Assyrian studies
				Indian studies and comparative linguistics
1878?–1908		Adolf HOLTZMANN Jr. (1838–1914)		Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1908–14	HOLTZMANN			
1920–31			Ernst LEUMANN (1859–1931) (*Honorar-professor*)	Indian studies
Fribourg (1889) (Swiss)				
1889–92			Hubert GRIMME (1864–1942)	Semitic languages
1892–1902		GRIMME		
1902–10	GRIMME			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Giessen (1607) (Hesse)				
				Oriental languages
1833–81	Johann August Vullers (1803–81)			
1898–1909	Friedrich Christian Bartholomae (1855–1925)			Oriental languages (Iranian studies)
1909?–14	Friedrich Schwally (1863–1919)			Oriental languages
1914–23	Paul E. Kahle (1875–1964)			
1916			**Institute of Oriental studies**	
1923–7	Rudof Strothmann (1877–1960)			
1923–7			Julius Lewy (1895–1963)	Assyrian studies
1927–30		Lewy (1927–9: without tenure)		Assyrian studies
1930–3	Lewy			Assyrian studies
		The Oriental Institute was closed during the NS period		
				Theology
1936–45			Karl Friedrich Euler (b. 1909)	Oriental languages
Göttingen (1737) (Hannover, since 1866: Prussian)				
				Oriental languages
1827–31		Heinrich Ewald (1803–75)		Oriental languages
1831–5	Ewald			Old Testament
1832–42			Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1808–99)	Oriental languages (and work in library)
1835–7	Ewald			Old Testament and Oriental languages
1842–3		Ernst Bertheau (1812–88)		
1843–88	Bertheau			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1842–52		Wüstenfeld		Oriental languages (and work in library)
1848–67	Ewald (2. chair)			Old Testament and Oriental languages
1852–99?	Wüstenfeld			Oriental languages (and work in library)
1861–4			Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930)	Oriental languages
1869–89	Paul de Lagarde (1827–91)			
1892–1913	Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918)			
1901			**Institute of Oriental Languages and Comparative Linguistics** (2 chairs)	
1903–18?	Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846–1930)			Iranian studies
1914–16	Enno Littmann (1875–1958)			Oriental languages
1917–28	Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928			
1930–6	Richard Hartmann (1881–1965)			
1936–45	Walther Hinz (1906–92) (active military service during WWII)			
1939–43			Bertold Spuler (1911–90)	Oriental languages
Mullah-Lehrgänge *since July 1944 (training courses for Muslim-Soviet PoWs organized by* Spuler *on behalf of the Oriental Institute, the German Army, and the SS)*				
1945–8			Spuler	Oriental languages
1946/8–57	Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957)			Oriental philology and history of religion

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Assyriology
1934–6			Wolfram von Soden (1908–96)	
1936–40		Soden		
1940–5/9		Adam Falkenstein (1906–66)		Assyrian and Arabic studies
				Egyptology
1868–70	Heinrich Brugsch–Pasha (1827–94)			
1903–23	Richard Pietschmann (1851–1923)			
1907–23	Kurt Sethe (1869–1934)			
1924–45	Hermann Kees (1886–1964)			
1946–50			Günther Roeder (1881–1966)	
				Byzantine and early Islamic architecture and art history
1939–42			Alfons Maria Schneider (1896–1952)	
1944–52		Schneider		
				Classical philology
1829–32			Theodor Benfey (1809–81)	
1902–15	Jakob Wackernagel (1853–1938)			Greek (and Sanskrit)
				Indian studies
1834–48			Benfey	Classical philology and Sanskrit
1848–62		Benfey		Oriental languages (Sanskrit)
1862–81	Benfey			Sanskrit

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1882–1908	Franz Kielhorn (1840–1908)			
1884–96		Friedrich Bechtel (1855–1924)		Comparative linguistics and Indo-European languages
1901			**Institute of Oriental Languages and Comparative Linguistics** (2 chairs)	
1908–20	Hermann Oldenberg (1854–1920)			Indian studies
1920–36	Emil Sieg (1866–1951)			
1936–65	Ernst Waldschmidt (1897–1985)			
				Sinology
1925–6	Erich Haenisch (1880–1966)			
1930–4			Gustav Haloun (1898–1951) (*locum tenens*)	
1934–8		Haloun		
1939–41			Werner Eichhorn (1899–1991)	
Graz (1586, 1817) (lost university status: 1780s–1850) (Austrian)				
				Semitic languages
1907–17		Nikolaus Rhodokanakis (1876–1945)		
1917–42	Rhodokanakis			
????–????			Karl Mlaker (1897–1951)	Semitic languages (Southern Arabia)
1942–3			Ernst Weidner (1891–1976)	Assyriology
1943–1956?	Weidner			Oriental studies
				Indo-European languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1873–6	Johannes Schmidt (1843–1901)			Indo-European languages
1920–6	Hans/Johann Reichelt (1877–1939)			"Aryan" Oriental languages
1929–39	Reichelt			Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
				Egyptology
1943–61?	Ernst Weidner (1891–1976)			
				Near Eastern art history
1892–4		Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941)		
1894–1909	Strzygowski			

Greifswald (1456) (since 1815 Prussian)

				Oriental languages
1824–60	Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten (1792–1860)			Oriental languages (inc. Sanskrit, since 1830) and Old Testament exegesis at the faculty of theology
1861–1907?	Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828–1909)			Oriental languages (and work at the library)
1906–7			Friedrich Giese (1870–1944)	
1907–17	Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928)			Oriental languages
1917–19	Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)			
1919–23	Arthur Ungnad (1879–1945)			Oriental languages (Assyrian studies)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1920			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1923–5			Erich Bräunlich (1892–1945)	Oriental languages
1925–30		Bräunlich		
1930–8			Werner Caskel (1896–1970)	
1938–9			Helmuth Scheel (1895–1967) (*locum tenens*)	
1939–43			Hans Wehr (1909–81) (*locum tenens*)	
				Palestine studies (Protestant Theology)—Institute since 1924
1917–41	Gustav Dalman (1855–1941)			
				Indo-European languages
1840–7		Albrecht Hoefer (1812–83)		Oriental languages (Sanskrit) and comparative linguistics
1847–80	Hoefer			
1881–2		Heinrich Zimmer (1850–1907)		Sanskrit and Indo-European languages
1882–1901	Zimmer			
			Ludwig Heller (1866–1945)	Sanskrit
1901?–45	Heller			Sanskrit

Halle (1694)–**Wittenberg** (1502–1817) (1815) (Prussian)

				Oriental languages
1808–34	Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760–1834)			Oriental languages (for Biblical studies)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1826–38			Wilhelm Schott (1802–89)	Oriental languages
1830–5		Emil Rödiger (1801–74)		Oriental languages
1835–60	Rödiger			
1862–89	Richard Gosche (1824–89)			
1874–82		August Müller (1848–92)		
1882–5		Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918)		
1885–7		Franz Thorbecke (1837–90)		
1887–90	Thorbecke			
1890–2	Müller			
1893–1909	Franz Praetorius (1847–1927)			
1901–7/8			Georg Kampff-meyer (1864–1936)	
1909–14			Paul Kahle (1875–1964)	
1910–22	Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956)			
1912–22			Hans Bauer (1878–1937)	
1918			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1922–3		Bauer		
1923–37	Bauer			
1935–39			Hans Wehr (1909–81) (assistant)	
1938			Johann Fück (1894–1974) (*locum tenens*)	
1938–62	Fück			
1947–53			Brockelmann (*Honorar-professor*)	

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics
1836–8		August Pott (1802–87)		Comparative linguistics and Sanskrit
1838–87	Pott			
1885–1902	Richard Pischel (1849–1908)			Indian studies
1887–9		Karl Geldner (1852–1929)		Indian and Iranian studies
1879–84			Friedrich Christian Bartho-lomae (1855–1925)	Iranian studies
1884–5		Bartholomae		Iranian studies
1890–5		Theodor Zachariae (1851–1934)		Comparative linguistics
1895–1921		Zachariae		Indian studies
1896–1922?	Friedrich Bechtel (1855–1924)			Indo-European languages
1903–27	Eugen Hultzsch (1857–1927)			Indian studies
1921–3	Zachariae			Indian studies
1926–45	Hilka Wiardo Schomerus (1879–1945)			Tamil and Indian studies [Faculty of theology?]
1929–39		Wilhelm Printz (1887–1941) (without tenure)		Indian studies (and librarian)
1939–41	Printz (without tenure)			
				Sinology
1927–30			Gustav Haloun (1898–1951)	
				History of Chemistry
1901–33			Edmund Ritter von Lippmann (1857–1940) (*Honorar-professor*)	

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Hamburg founded as Colonial Institute (1908) became a university in 1919				
				Oriental studies
1908–13			Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) *"ordinarius"* [no university]	History and culture of the Near East
1914–18			Rudolf Tschudi (1884–1960) *"ordinarius"* [no university]	History and culture of the Near East
1919			**Institute** (since 1928: 2 chairs)	
1919–26	Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971)			Oriental studies
1919–28		Arthur Schaade (1883–1952)		Semitic studies
1919–39			Necati Lugal (d. 1964)	Turkish studies
1925–7			Martin Plessner (1900–73) (assistant)	
1927–47	Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960)			Oriental studies
1927–9			Walther Björkman (1896–1996)	
1928–51	Schaade (1930–4 visiting professor at Cairo)			Semitic studies
1948–76	Bertold Spuler (1911–90)			Islamic studies
				African studies
1909–19			Carl Meinhof (1857–1944) *"ordinarius"* [no university]	African languages
1919–36	Meinhof			African languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1924–8			August Klingenheben (1886–1967)	
1928–30		Klingenheben		
1936–45	Klingenheben			
1937–45		Ernst Zyhlarz (1890–1964) (without tenure)		
1937–41			Johannes Lukas (1901–80)	
1945–54			Lukas	
1947–54	Klingenheben			
1954–1970	Lukas			
				Indian studies
1914–19			Sten Konow (1867–1948) *"ordinarius"* [no university]	History and culture of India
1920–51	Walther Schubring (1881–1969)			Indian studies
				Iranian studies
1926–9	Hans/Johann Reichelt (1877–1939)			
				Sinology
1909–19			Otto Franke (1863–1946) *"ordinarius"* [no university]	East Asia studies
1919–23	Franke			Sinology
1923–35	Alfred Forke (1867–1944)			
Heidelberg (1386/1803) (Baden)				
				Oriental languages
1823–9	Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Umbreit (1795–1860)			Old Testament and Oriental languages (moved to Faculty of theology in 1829)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1836–45			Gustav Weil (1808–89)	Oriental languages (and work at the library)
1845–61		Weil		(and work at the library)
1861–89	Weil			
1873–85		Franz Thorbecke (1837–90)		
1891–3	Rudolf Ernst Brünnow (1858–1917)			Semitic languages
1894			**Institute of Oriental Studies (Semitic languages)**	
1894–1922	Carl Bezold (1859–1922)			Semitic languages (esp. Assyrian studies)
1898–1906			Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)	
1902–6			Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933)	
1906–8		Becker		Semitic languages
1915–27		Julius Ruska (1867–1949)		
1922–7			Albrecht Götze (1897–1971)	
1923–6	Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933)			
1926–30	Richard Hartmann (1881–1965)			Semitic languages
1927–30		Götze		Semitic languages (esp. Assyrian studies)
1930–5			Rudi Paret (1901–83) (lecturer/ *locum tenens*)	Semitic languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1939–40		Paret (1935–9: without tenure)		
				Egyptology
1911–22		Hermann Ranke (1878–1953)		
1918–22	Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1870–1930)			
1922–37/45	Ranke			
1938–9			Siegfried Schott (1897–1971)	
1943–5		Schott		
				Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics
1852–70	Adolf Holtzmann (1810–70)			Sanskrit and German
1870–1912		Salomon Lefmann (1831–1912)		Comparative linguistics (inc. Sanskrit)
1872–5	Ernst Windisch (1844–1918)			Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1875–6	Ernst Kuhn (1846–1921)			Sanskrit
1912–21		Bruno Liebich (1862–1939)		Indian studies
1922–39		Heinrich Zimmer (1890–1943)		Indian studies
				Iranian Studies
1909–24	Friedrich Christian Bartholomae (1855–1925)			
Innsbruck (1670) (lost university status: 1780s–1850) (Austrian)				
				Semitic languages
1874–1906?	Gustav Bickell (1838–1906)			Christian archaeology and Semitic languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1906–17		August HAFFNER (1869–1941)		Semitic languages
1917–41?	HAFFNER			
1932–9			Hans KOFLER (1896–1947)	
1949–62			Adolf GROHMANN (1887–1977) (*Honorar-professor*)	
				History of antiquity/ Assyriology
1919?–31?	Carl Friedrich LEHMANN–HAUPT (1861–1938)			
				Indian studies and comparative linguistics
1895–9		Leopold von SCHROEDER (1851–1920)		Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1902–8		Wilhelm CARTELLIERI (1860–1908)		Studies of ancient India
				Law
1908–9				
		Paul KOSCHAKER (1879–1951)		Comparative law (incl. Middle Eastern/ Assyrian law)
Jena (1558) (Saxony–Weimar–Eisennach)				
				Oriental languages
1811–12			Georg Heinrich BERNSTEIN (1789–1860)	
1812–16	Georg Wilhelm LORSBACH (1752–1816)			Oriental languages (for theology)
1812–16	Johann Gottfried Ludwig KOSEGARTEN (1792–1860)			Oriental languages/ faculty of theology

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1839–41		Hermann BROCKHAUS (1806–77)		Oriental languages (Sanskrit)
1837			**Institute for Oriental Languages**	
1841?–96	Johann Gustav STICKEL (1805–96)			
1896–1909	Karl VOLLERS (1857–1909)			
1909–19		Arthur UNGNAD (1879–1945)		Semitic languages/ Assyriology
1906–24		Heinrich HILGENFELD (1862–1945) (retired due to lack of funds)		Semitic languages
1933–40			Oluf KRÜCKMANN (1904–84)	Semitic languages/ Arabic studies and Assyrian studies
1935–45			Hans ELLENBERG (b. 1877)	Arabic, Turkish, Persian
1937–45			HILGENFELD	Semitic languages
				Indian studies and comparative linguistics
1857–68			August SCHLEICHER (1821–68) (*Honorar-professor*)	Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1870–3			Berthold DELBRÜCK (1842–1922)	
1873–1922	DELBRÜCK			
1872–5			Carl CAPELLER (1840–1925)	Sanskrit
1875–1921		CAPELLER		Sanskrit
				Egyptology
1869–70		Georg Moritz EBERS (1837–98)		
Kiel (1665) (Denmark, 1773–1852, since 1866: Prussian)				

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Oriental languages
1823–30		Justus Olshausen (1800–82)		Oriental languages (Old Testament, Semitic languages and Sanskrit)
1830–53	Olshausen			
1854–64	August Dillmann (1823–94)			
1864–8		Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930)		
1868–72	Nöldeke			
1872–1911	Georg Hoffmann (1845–1933)			Semitic languages
1896–1907			Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928)	
1911–29	Georg Jacob (1862–1937)			Semitic and Islamic philology
1914			**Institute of Oriental studies**	
1914–18			Richard Hartmann (1881–1965)	
1922–4			Theodor Menzel (1878–1939)	Turkish studies
1924–6			Menzel	Semitic languages
1926–9		Menzel (without tenure)		
1929–37	Menzel			
1937–45	*The chair of Oriental studies was changed into a chair of peasant law*			
				Indian studies/ Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1875–7		Richard Pischel (1849–1908)		Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1877–85	Pischel			
1885–9	Hermann Jacobi (1850–1937)			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1889–1908	Hermann Oldenberg (1854–1920)			
1908–9	Heinrich Lüders (1869–1943)			Indian studies
1909–20	Emil Sieg (1866–1951)			
1918–25			Hilka Wiardo Schomerus (1879–1945)	Tamil and Indian studies [Faculty of theology?]
1920–45	Otto Schrader (1876–1961)			Indian studies
1925–6		Schomerus		Tamil and Indian studies [Faculty of theology?]
1947–50		Schrader (acting director of the institute)		
Königsberg (1544) (Prussian)				
				Oriental languages
1826–8			Peter von Bohlen (1796–1840)	Oriental languages (incl. Sanskrit)
1828–36	Bohlen			
1853–82	Justus Olshausen (1800–82)			Oriental languages
1882–1890	August Müller (1848–92)			Semitic languages
1890?–1903	Gustav Jahn (1837–1917)			
1894–1921			Felix Peiser (1862–1921) (*Honorarprofessor*)	Assyriology
1903–10	Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956)			Semitic languages
1910–14	Friedrich Schulthess (1868–1922)			Semitic languages (Aramaic)
1914–19	Friedrich Schwally (1863–1919)			Semitic languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1919			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1919–22	Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933)			
1922–6		Richard Hartmann (1881–1965)		
1926–30	Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957)			Oriental languages and history of religion
1928–45?			H. A. Fischer (b. 1904) [jurist]	Near Eastern languages
1930–1	Erich Bräunlich (1892–1945)			Oriental languages
1932–4/9	Joseph Schacht (1902–69) (resigned and left for Egypt in 1934)			
				Egyptology
1909?–35	Walter Wreszinski (1880–1935) (lecturer/ *ordinarius*)			
				Indian studies and comparative linguistics
1878–80			Richard von Garbe (1857–1927)	Indian studies
1880–94		Garbe		Comparative linguistics (and Indian studies)
1896–1928	Otto Franke (1862–1928)			Indian studies
1899–1914			Julius von Negelein (1872–1932)	
1928–44	Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891–1963)			
				Theology
1903–32?	Paul Rost (1862–1938)			Old Testament, Assyriology and comparative linguistics

Leipzig (1409) (Saxony)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Oriental languages
1813–35	Ernst Friedrich Carl Rosenmüller (1768–1835)			Oriental languages and Old Testament (faculty of theology)
1835–40	Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–88)			Oriental languages and Old Testament (faculty of theology)
1840–88	Fleischer			Oriental languages
1861–74		Ludolf Krehl (1825–1901)		(and work at the library)
1864–73	Julius Fürst (1805–73)			Aramaic
1874–99	Krehl [for continuation see Zimmern]			Oriental languages (and work at the library)
1874–81		Otto Loth (1844–81)		
1887–93			Hermann Reckendorf (1863–1924)	
1890–9	Albert Socin (1844–99)			
1895–1900			Hans Stumme (1864–1936)	modern Arabic and African languages (including Turkish)
1900			**Institute for Semitic Studies** (since 1934: Oriental studies) (2 chairs)	
1900–30(–45)	August Fischer (1865–1949)			Oriental languages (and director of the Institute together with the Assyriologist Heinrich Zimmern)
1900–30		Stumme		Modern Arabic and African languages (including Turkish)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1902–04/36?		Paul SCHWARZ (1867–1938)		Semitic studies (Arabic poetry and historical geography)
1916–21			Ahmed MUHIEDDIN	Turkish studies
1930–6		August KLINGENHEBEN (1886–1967)		Modern Middle Eastern and African languages
1930–1	Hans Heinrich SCHAEDER (1896–1957)			Oriental languages
1931–40/45	Erich BRÄUNLICH (1892–1945)			
1932–6			Herbert Wilhelm DUDA (1900–75)	Oriental and Turkish studies
1936–40/5			Hans Joachim KISSLING (1912–85) (active military service)	Turkish studies
				Islamic studies (Institute: 1917 until mid–1920s)
1918–22		Richard HARTMANN (1881–1965)		Islamic studies (and director of the institute)
1931–9			Edgar PRÖBSTER (1879–1942)	Islamic culture and language
				Assyriology
1877–93		Friedrich DELITZSCH (1850–1922)		
1894–9		Heinrich ZIMMERN (1862–1931)		
1900–31?	ZIMMERN			
1905–30		Franz Heinrich WEISSBACH (1865–1944)		

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1926–8		Benno LANDSBERGER (1890–1968)		
1929–35	LANDSBERGER			
1929–36		Johannes FRIEDRICH (1893–1972) (without tenure)		Hittite studies
			WEISSBACH (*Honorar-professor*)	Hittite studies
1936–50	FRIEDRICH			Hittite studies
				Egyptology
1825–59	Gustav SEYFFARTH (1797–1885/6)			Philosophy (also lectures on Egyptology)
1870–5		Georg Moritz EBERS (1837–98)		
1875–93?	EBERS			
1893–1904		Georg STEINDORFF (1861–1951)		
1904–34	STEINDORFF			
1934–9		Walter WOLF (1900–73)		
1939–1945	WOLF			
1942–54			Siegfried MORENZ (1914–70)	
1954–61	MORENZ			
				Indian studies and comparative linguistics
1841–8		Herman BROCKHAUS (1806–77)		Indian (and Persian) studies
1848–77	BROCKHAUS			
1871–2		Ernst WINDISCH (1844–1918)		Sanskrit
1872–5			Ernst KUHN (1846–1921)	
1877–1918	WINDISCH			Sanskrit and Celtic
1898			**Institute for Indo-European studies**	
1919–38	Johannes HERTEL (1872–1955)			Indian studies

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1928–38		Friedrich Weller (1889–1980)		Indian studies (1930–3 in China)
1938–58	Weller			
				Sinology
1880s			Georg von der Gabelentz	
1891–6			August Conrady (1864–1925)	
1896–1920		Conrady		
1920–5	Conrady			
1926–32	Erich Haenisch (1880–1966)			
				Law
1915–36	Paul Koschaker (1879–1951)			Comparative law (incl. Middle Eastern/ Assyrian law)
				History of medicine (since 1906: Institute)
1904–18		Karl Sudhoff (1853–1938)		
1918–25	Sudhoff (and director)			
1929	*Max Meyerhof (1874–1945) rejects offer to succeed Sudhoff*			
1938–43/6			Karl Garbers (1898–1990)	Arab sciences
Marburg (1527) (Hesse; since 1866: Prussian)				
				Oriental languages
1827–43	Hermann Christian Hupfeld (1796–1866)			Languages (held also a chair in theology)
1848–83	Franz Dietrich (1810–83)			Oriental languages and early German literature

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Semitic languages
1885–92	Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918)			Semitic languages (and Oriental history)
1892–5		Peter Jensen (1861–1936)		Semitic languages (Assyrian studies)
1895–1928	Jensen			
1913			**Institute of Oriental Institute of Oriental and Indo-European languages** (2 chairs)	
1928–9	Benno Landsberger (1890–1968)			Assyrian studies
1930–3	Albrecht Götze (1897–1971)			Semitic languages (Assyrian studies)
1936–45	Carl Frank (1881–1945)			
				Theology
1845–59	Johann Gustav Gildemeister (1812–90)			Theology and Oriental languages (also library work)
				Near Eastern art
1934–43	Friedrich Wachtsmuth (1883–1975)			
				Indo-European languages/ Indian studies
1890s	Paul Kretschmer (1866–1956)			Indo-European languages
1907–21	Karl Geldner (1852–1929)			Indian and Iranian studies
1913			**Institute of Oriental and Indo-European languages** (2 chairs)	
1921–4	Hanns Oertel (1868–1852)			Indian and Iranian studies
1925–7	Wilhelm Hauer (1881–1962)			Indian studies

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1928–55	Johannes Nobel (1887–1960)			Indian (and Chinese) studies
Munich (Ingolstadt, 1472; Landshut, 1800; 1826) (Bavaria)				
				Oriental languages
1826–40	Othmar Frank (1770–1840)			Oriental languages (Indian and Iranian studies)
1840–7		Marcus Joseph Müller (1809–74)		Non–biblical Oriental languages
1847–74	Müller			
1867–71			Hermann Ethé (1844–1917)	Oriental languages
1874–85	Ernst Trumpp (1828–85)			Oriental languages (esp. Arabic and modern Indian studies)
1885–92		Fritz Hommel (1854–1936)		Semitic studies (incl. Assyrian studies)
1892–1925	Hommel			
1905			**Institute of Oriental studies** (2 chairs: Semitic and Aryan philology)	
1911–19			Karl Süssheim (1878–1947)	History of Muslim nations and Turkish
1919–33		Süssheim		Semitic and Islamic studies
1926–33	Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933)			Semitic studies (incl. Assyrian and Islamic studies)
1931–2		Theo Bauer (1896–1957)		Assyrian studies
1933–6			Adam Falkenstein (1906–66)	Assyrian studies
1933–4			Otto Pretzl (1893–1941)	Semitic and Islamic studies
1934–5		Pretzl		
1935–41	Pretzl (since 1939 military service)			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1942/3	Bertold Spuler (1911–90) (did not teach, due to military service)			Oriental studies
1944–5			Hans Wehr (1909–81) (*locum tenens*)	Oriental studies
1947–9			Oluf Krückmann (1904–84)	
1948–80?	Anton Spitaler (b. 1910)			Semitic and Arabic studies
1948–58	Franz Babinger (1891–1967)			History and culture of the Near East and Turkish studies
				Egyptology
1906–22		Friedrich von Bissing (1873–1956)		
1923–30	Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1870–1930)			
1906–26		Karl Dyroff (1862–1938) (without tenure)		Egyptology (and Coptic language studies)
1926–32/8?			Dyroff (*Honorar-professor*)	Egyptology
1932–50	Alexander Scharff (1892–1950)			
				Indian studies/ Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1867–76	Martin Haug (1827–77)			Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1877–1917/20	Ernst Kuhn (1846–1921)			Indian studies
1905			**Institute of Oriental Studies (section for Aryan philology)** (since 1909: Institute of Aryan philology)	
1906–20		Richard Simon (1865–1934)		Indian philology

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1920–4	Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943)			Indian studies
1922–5	Gustav Herbig (1868–1925)			Indo-European languages (inc. Etruscan
1924–35	Hanns Oertel (1868–1852)			Indian (and Iranian) studies
1926–32			Walther Wüst (1901–93)	Indo-European languages
1932–5		Wüst (without tenure)		
1935–46	Wüst (reemployed in 1951)			(and *Ahnenerbe*)
				Sinology
1833–70	Karl Friedrich Neumann (1793–1870)			Chinese and Armenian studies
1946–52	Erich Haenisch (1880–1966)			Sinology
				Ethnology
1901–16		Lucian Scherman (1864–1946)		Ethnology (esp. India)
1916–33	Scherman			
				Theology: Christian Orient
1930–46			Georg Graf (1875–1955) (*Honorar-professor*)	
1935–39	Friedrich Stummer (1886–1955)			
1946–55?	Stummer			

Münster (1773–1818; since 1818: royal academy/Catholic theology; since 1843: two faculties: Catholic theology and philosophy; since 1910: university) (Prussian, since 1802)

				Oriental languages
1783–1834?	Johann H. Kistenmaker (1754–1834)			Holy Scripture and Oriental languages

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1827–37			Laurenz Reinke (Senior) (1797–1879)	Old Testament and Oriental languages
1837–79	Reinke (Senior)			Old Testament (and lecturer: Oriental languages)
1860/62–66			Laurenz Reinke (Junior) (b. 1829)	Oriental languages
1867–74		Gustav Bickell (1838–1906)		Oriental languages and literature
1879–87			Jakob Ecker (1851–1912)	Oriental languages
1886–1908	Winand Fell (1837–1908)			Old Testament (taught also Oriental languages)
1910–29	Hubert Grimme (1864–1942)			Semitic philology and Assyriology
1910–21			Bernhard Vandenhoff (1868–1929)	Semitic philology (esp. Christian Orient
1913			**Oriental Institute**	
1921–9		Vandenhoff		Semitic philology (esp. Christian Orient)
1922–9			Franz Taeschner (1888–1967)	Oriental studies
1929–35		Taeschner		
1930–5	Anton Baumstark (1872–1949)			Oriental studies (esp. Christian Orient)
1935–41	Taeschner			Oriental studies
1942–5				
1945–56/7				
1947–59			Gotthard Jäschke (1894–1983) (visiting professor)	Turkish studies

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Christian Orient/faculty of theology (since 1916)
1916–23	Paul KARGE (1881–1922			
1923–46	Adolf RÜCKER (1880–1948)			
				Indian/Iranian studies
1876–85		Hermann JACOBI (1850–1937)		Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1885–98	Friedrich Christian BARTHOLOMAE (1855–1925)			Iranian studies
1906	*Chair for comparative linguistics (when Münster became a proper university)*			
1948–50			Ludwig ALSDORF (1904–78) (visiting professor)	Indian studies
Prague (1348) (Austrian/Czech)				
				Oriental languages
1848–????	KOŠUT			
????–????	Rudolf DVOŘÁK (1860–1920)			
1892–1921	Max GRÜNERT (1849–1929)			
1920–38	Alois MUSIL (1868–1944)			Sciences to Oriental studies and modern Arabic
1921–4		Adolf GROHMANN (1887–1977)		Oriental languages
1922			**Oriental Institute**	
1924–45	GROHMANN			
1926–30		Jan RYPKA (1886–1968)		Modern Turkish and Iranian studies
1930–56?	RYPKA			
1935/8–42			Karl JAHN (1906–85)	Turkish (and librarian)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Indology and comparative linguistics
~1860–1912	Alfred LUDWIG (1832–1912)			Greek, Latin, and comparative linguistics (inc. Sanskrit, Semitic, and Iranian languages)
1899–1902			Moritz WINTERNITZ (1863–1937)	Indian studies
1902–11		WINTERNITZ		
1911–34	WINTERNITZ			
1930–4		Otto STEIN (1893–1942)		
1934–8	STEIN			
				Sinology
1926–7			Gustav HALOUN (1898–1951)	
				Byzantine and early Islamic architecture and art history
1942–3			Alfons Maria SCHNEIDER (1896–1952) (*locum tenens*)	
				Ancient Orient
1919– ????	Bedřich HROZNÝ (1879–1952)			Assyriology (inc. Hittite studies)
				Law
1909–14	Paul KOSCHAKER (1879–1951)			Comparative law (inc. ME/ Assyrian law)
Rostock (1419) (Mecklenburg)				
				Semitic languages
1870–79		Friedrich Wilhelm Martin PHILIPPI (1843–1905)		

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1879–1905	Philippi			
1932–3			Werner Caskel (1896–1970)	
				Indo-European languages
1903–5		Heinrich Lüders (1869–1943)		Sanskrit
1905–8	Lüders			
????–1913	Ferdinand Sommer			Indo-European languages
1913–21	Gustav Herbig (1868–1925)			
Strassburg (1872–1918) (German *Reich*)				
				Semitic languages
1872–1906	Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930)			Semitic languages
1875–1918	Samuel Landauer (1846–1937)			Hebrew and Iranian studies (and librarian)
1880–1913			Julius Euting (1839–1913) (*Honorar-professor*)	Semitic languages
1893–1900			Friedrich Schwally (1863–1919)	
1900–9?		Schwally		
1901–3			Israel Friedländer (1877–1920)	
1906–14	Enno Littmann (1875–1958)			
1910–16			Carl Frank (1881–1945)	Assyrian studies
1911			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1914–17	Friedrich Schulthess (1868–1922)			Semitic studies (Aramaic)
1916–18		Frank		Assyrian studies
				Egyptology
1872–94	Johannes Dümichen (1833–94)			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1899–1918	Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1870–1930)			
				Sanskrit
1872–84	Siegfried Goldschmidt (d. 1884)			
1875–7	Ernst Windisch (1844–1918)			
1884–97		Ernst Leumann (1859–1931)		
1897–1919	Leumann			
Tübingen (1477) (Württemberg)				
				Oriental languages
1772–75		Christian Friedrich Schnurrer (1742–1822)		Oriental languages (faculty of theology)
1775–1822	Schnurrer			Oriental languages (faculty of theology)
Julius Mohl (1800–1876) was sent to study Oriental languages in Paris but did not return				
1838–41	Heinrich Ewald (1803–72)			Old Testament and Oriental languages (at the faculty of philosophy)
1841–8	Ewald			Old Testament and Oriental languages (at the faculty of theology)
1840s–56		Ernst Heinrich Meier (1813–66)		Oriental languages
1845–8			Rudolf von Roth (1821–95)	
1848–1856		Roth		
1856–66	Meier			(Emphasis on other Semitic languages than Arabic; numismatics)

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1869–73	Adalbert MERX (1838–1909)			(Emphasis on other Semitic languages than Arabic)
1876–90	Albert SOCIN (1844–99)			Semitic languages
1890–3			Eberhard NESTLE (1851–1913) (*locum tenens)*	Semitic languages (esp. Hebrew)
1892–7			Christian Friedrich SEYBOLD (1859–1921)	Oriental languages
1897–1901		SEYBOLD		
1901–21	SEYBOLD			
1921–51	Enno LITTMANN (1875–1958)			
1922			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1939–41			Otto RÖSSLER (1907–91) (assistant) (previously: *Ahnenerbe*)	
1941–2			RÖSSLER (since 1942 military service)	Semitic languages
1944–50			Christian H. REMPIS (1901–72)	Iranian studies
1948–50			Maria HÖFNER (1900–92) (visiting lecturer)	Semitic languages
				Indian studies
1856–95	ROTH			Indian studies and history of religion (also head librarian)
1895–1927	Richard von GARBE (1857–1927)			Indian studies

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1927–45	Wilhelm HAUER (1881–1962) (1945–7 interned, 1947 returned to teaching)			
1931/33–54			Hermann WELLER (1878–1956)	
1946–59	Helmuth von GLASENAPP (1891–1963)			Indian studies and comparative religion
				Law
1941–6	Paul KOSCHAKER (1879–1951)			Comparative law (inc. ME/ Assyrian law)
Vienna (1356) (Austrian)				
				Oriental languages
1862–70?			Adolf WAHRMUND (1827–1913)	Arabic, Persian, and Turkish
1866–9		Friedrich MUELLER (1834–98)		Oriental languages
1869–71/2		Eduard Sachau (1845–1930)		Semitic languages
1871/2–5/6	SACHAU			
1877–80			David Heinrich von MÜLLER (1846–1912)	
1880–5		MÜLLER		
1885–1912	MÜLLER			
1906–18		Max BITTNER (1869–1918)		
1906–15		Rudolf Eugen GEYER (1861–1929)		
1915–29	GEYER			
1916–21			Adolf GROHMANN (1887–1977)	
????–1930?		Georg HÜSING (1869–1930)		Assyriology
1923–4			Victor CHRISTIAN (1885–1963)	Assyriology and archaeology

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1924–30		Christian		
1930–45	Christian (1934–6 suspended for pro–NS activities)			Semitic languages inc. Assyriology
1931–7/8			Friedrich König (b. 1897)	(and librarian)
1939–47		Hans Kofler (1896–1947)		Oriental and Islamic studies
1940–52			Maria Höfner (1900–92)	
1948–62		Hans Ludwig Gottschalk (1904–81)		Arabic studies
				History of the Orient
1874–85		Joseph Ritter von Karabaček (1845–1918)		
1885–1915	Karabaček			
				Egyptology
1859–1902	Leo Reinisch (1832–1919)			Egyptology (and Hamito-Abyssinian philology)
1907–9			Hermann Junker (1877–1962)	Egyptology
1909–12		Junker		
1912–29	Junker			
1923			**Institute for Egyptology and African Studies**	
1925–31?		Wilhelm Czermak (1889–1953)		African studies
1928–39			Walter Till (1894–1963)	Egyptology (and librarian)
1929–38			Junker (*Honorar-professor*)	Egyptology
1931–53?	Czermak			
1939–49?			Till (*Honorar-professor*)	Egyptology
1945–53			Junker (*Honorar-professor*)	Egyptology

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
				Turkish studies
1913–17			Friedrich Kraelitz, Edler von Greifenhorst (1876–1932)	Turkish and Armenian philology
1917–23		Kraelitz		
1923–32	Kraelitz			
1933–40			Herbert Jansky (1898–1981)	Turkish studies
1940–5		Jansky (without tenure)		Turkish and Islamic studies
1943–70	Herbert Wilhelm Duda (1900–75)			
1945–68		Jansky		Turkish studies **Caucasian and Central Asian studies**
1926–54		Robert Bleichsteiner (1891–1954)		
				Near Eastern art history
1909–33	Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941)			Art history
1919–24			Ernst Diez (1878–1961)	Near Eastern art history
1923–30		Heinrich Glück (1889–1930)		History of Oriental art
1924–6		Diez		
1939–????	Diez			
				Indian/ Sanskrit studies and comparative linguistics
1845–50			Anton Boller (1811–69)	Sanskrit
1850–5		Boller		Comparative linguistics and Sanskrit
1855–69	Boller			
1869–81?	Friedrich Müller (1834–98)			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
1881–98	Georg BÜHLER (1837–98)			
1899–1920	Leopold von SCHROEDER (1851–1920)			
1899–1936	Paul KRETSCHMER (1866–1956)			Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics (incl. Hittite studies
1909–19			Bernhard GEIGER (1881–1964)	Indian and Iranian studies
1919–30		GEIGER		
1930–8	GEIGER			
Würzburg (1582) (Bavaria)				**Oriental languages**
1821–6	Othmar FRANK (1770–1840)			Oriental languages
1877–86		Julius JOLLY (1849–1932)		Sanskrit and comparative linguistics
1886–1922	JOLLY (continued teaching until 1928)			
1894–1908		[unknown]		Semitic languages and literature
1908–16		Maximilian STRECK (1873–1945)		Semitic studies (history and geography of the Near East in Antiquity)
1916			**Institute of Oriental Studies**	
1916–45	STRECK			
1949–57	Theo BAUER (1896–1957)			Semitic studies: Assyriology
				Theology—Christian Orient
1918–23			Friedrich STUMMER (1886–1955)	
1923–32		STUMMER		
1932–5	STUMMER			

Period of appointment	*Ordinarius*	*Extraordinarius*	*Lecturer*	*Field*
Zurich (1833) (Swiss)				**Old Testament and Semitic languages**
1833–61	Ferdinand HITZIG (1807–75)			
1862?–70	Eberhard SCHRADER (1836–1908)			
1870–89 ?	Heinrich STEINER (1841–89)			
1890?–1943?	Jakob HAUSHERR (1865–1943)			
				Oriental tudies
1918/9–22		Rudolf TSCHUDI (1884–1960)		
1922?– 36?	Jean–Jacques HESS (1866–1949)			
				Indo-European languages/ Indian studies and comparative linguistics
1902–9			Eduard SCHWYZER (1874–1943)	European languages (specializing in Greek) (later: 1909–12: *extraordinarius*: Greek, 1912–27 *ordinarius*: Greek)
1919–54	Emil ABEGG (1885–1962)			Comparative linguistics (incl. Indian philosophy and religion)

Appendix 4

Appointments at the *SOS* (established in 1887) and at the Faculty for the study of foreign countries/University of Berlin

Period of appointment	*Scholar*	*Tasks*
1887–1920	**Eduard Sachau (1845–1930)**	**Director**
1887–1918	Martin Hartmann (1851–1918)	Arabic (since 1910 also Islamic studies)
1887–96	Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939)	Arabic (acting secretary and librarian)
1888–90	Friedrich Rosen (1856–1935)	Hindu
1888–1903?	Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846–1930)	Persian
????–????	Karl Foy (1856–1907)	Turkish
1896–1900	August Fischer (1865–1949)	Arabic
1897–1911	Julius Lippert (1866–1911)	Arabic
1897–1939?	Anton Palme (b. 1872)	Russian studies
1900	Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956)	Arabic
1901–4	Bruno Meissner (1868–1947)	Arabic
1903–21	Diedrich Westermann (1875–1956)	African languages
1904–7	Paul Schwarz (1867–1938)	Arabic
1905–9	Carl Meinhof (1857–1944)	African languages
1906–29	Georg Kampffmeyer (1864–1936)	Arabic (Egypt and Morocco)
1907–14	Friedrich Giese (1870–1944)	Turkish
1907–15	Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)	Ethiopian and Amharic
1911–24	Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939)	Geography (and head librarian)
1915–21	Sebastian Beck (1878–1951)	Persian and Turkish
1919–36	Carl Frank (1881–1945)	Arabic
1920–8	**Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)**	**Acting director**
1920–22/32?	Johann Heinrich Mordtmann (1852–1932)	Modern Ottoman culture and history
1922–36	Paul Schwarz (1867–1938)	Modern (Syrian) Arabic
1922–39	Martin Heepe (1887–1961)	African studies
1924–38	Mohammed Yahia/Jachja Haschmi (b. 1903)	Arabic
1924–34	Franz Babinger (1891–1967)	Islamic studies
1927–33	Sebastian Beck (1878–1951)	Persian
1928–33	**Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)**	**Director**
1929–39	Walther Björkman (1896–1996)	Modern Middle East languages

Period of appointment	*Scholar*	*Tasks*
1930?–9	Hans Schlobies (1904–50)	Amharic
1931–9	Gotthard Jäschke (1894–1983)	Turkish
1933–5	**Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957)**	**Director**
1933–9	Helmuth Scheel (1895–1967)	Turkish
1934–9	Walther Braune (1900–88)	Arabic
1934–9	Sebastian Beck (1878–1951)	Persian
1936	*Auslandshochschule/College for the study of foreign countries*	
1936–9?	**Anton Palme (b. 1872)**	**Acting director**
1936–9	Gerhard von Mende (1904–63)	Russian studies (and Turkish)
1936–9	Edgar Pröbster (1879–1942)	Arab countries
1940	*Faculty of the study of foreign countries at the University of Berlin*	
	Franz A. Six (1909–75)	**Dean**
1940–5	Sebastian Beck (*SOS*: 1927–33, 1934–9)	Iranian studies
1940–5	Gerhard von Mende (*SOS/AH*: since 1936)	Soviet studies (also inc. Turkish studies)
1940–5	Martin Heepe (*SOS*: since 1922)	African studies
1940–4	Walther Björkman (*SOS*: since 1929)	Modern Middle East languages
1940–5	Walther Braune (*SOS*: since 1934)	Arabic studies
1940–5?	Hans Schlobies (*SOS*: since 1930?)	Amharic studies
1940–5	Gotthard Jäschke (*SOS*: since 1931)	Turkish studies
1940–5	Helmuth Scheel (SOS: since 1933)	Turkish studies
1941–5	Diedrich Westermann (SOS: since 1903; University of Berlin: since 1921)	African studies
1941–5	Ludwig Peters (b. 1893)	Turkish studies
1941–5	Johannes Lukas (1901–80)	African studies
1941–5	Ludwig Alsdorf (1904–78)	Indian studies
1945	Hans Wehr (1909–81)	Near Eastern studies

Notes

1 Introduction

1 "... *umstürzende Leistungen im Gebiete der Orientalistik wird man nur mit geringen Ausnahmen erfahren, dafür aber desto mehr von bewegten, ja tragischen Gelehrtenschicksalen, die sich in diesem langen Zeitraum vollenden mussten, über die sich aber längst der Schleier der Vergessenheit gebreitet hat.*"

2 I have chosen the term "prejudice" for the sake of brevity. Said's definition is longer: "a set of structures inherited from the past, secularized, redisposed, and re-formed by such disciplines as philology, which in turn were naturalized, modernized, and laicized substitutes for (or versions of) Christian supernaturalism" (1978: 122); and in more concrete terms: "Almost from earliest times in Europe the Orient was something more than what was empirically known about it. At least until the early eighteenth century (...) European understanding of one kind of Oriental culture, the Islamic, was ignorant but complex. For certain associations with the East–not quite ignorant, not quite informed–always seem to have gathered around the notion of an Orient" (1978: 55–56).

3 For example, Hichem Djaït's *L'Europe et L'Islam* (1978) was published at the same time. Though it was translated to English in 1985, the book's impact remained minor.

4 "But the phenomenon of Orientalism as I study it here deals principally, not with a correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient (the East as career) despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a 'real' Orient" (Said 1978: 5).

5 The moral challenge may explain the rather emotional nature of some of the reactions (e.g., Fähndrich 1988).

6 "Renan is the philologist as judge, the French scholar surveying lesser religions like Islam with disdain, speaking with the authority not only of a scientific European but of a great cultural institution; Massignon, on the other hand, is the philologist as guest, as spiritual traveler extraordinary, as (...) the rarest-veined unraveler of Islamic civilization the West has produced" (Said 1980: 71).

7 "Said's book replaces the critique of imperialism with the critique of Orientalism" (Johansen 1990: 73).

8 "But from the 1830s onward, the main stream of German Oriental studies was clearly dominated by the grammatical positivism of the school of Leipzig, where Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–88), a student of de Sacy, ruled supreme. He held the chair in Leipzig for more than fifty years (1835–88) and his students occupied most of the German—and at least some of the other European—chairs of Oriental studies. Fleischer transformed the Orient into grammar and lexicography" (Johansen 1990: 77).

9 I could not identify sufficient evidence for a monopoly held by Fleischer's students. At least until the mid-twentieth century, the scholarly network in Middle East studies remained a multi-lineage system. For brevity's sake, a few examples may suffice: Most obviously, Theodor Nöldeke and Julius Wellhausen do not belong to the "Fleischer lineage"; the

same holds true for a number of less well-known scholars: Richard Gosche and Andreas Heinrich Thorbecke, for example. Moreover, many scholars seem to have a very "weak" lineage only: Eduard Sachau studied at Kiel and Leipzig (Fleischer), but he graduated (Ph.D.) at Halle (Gosche); Fleischer's successor to the chair at Leipzig (1890–99), Albert Socin studied at Basel, Göttingen (Ewald) and Leipzig (Fleischer), and graduated (Ph.D.) at Halle (Gosche); Socin's successor to the chair (1900–930), August Fischer studied at Halle (Gosche and Wellhausen), Berlin (Sachau) and Marburg (Wellhausen), and graduated (Ph.D.) at Halle. The group of scholars specializing in Middle East studies was surely a small one, and they were connected with each other in numerous ways and on various levels, including teacher-student relationships. But the scholarly network cannot be said to have been dominated by Fleischer and his students.

10 Ranke was able to "monopolize" the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* project in Berlin as well as the historical commission set up by the Bavarian academy (the Bavarian king was Ranke's student). Ranke secured the professional work available within these projects for his students, and for his students only. The students thus could make a living working on research material which they could also use for their own purposes, which put them into a much better position than any other competitors (Weber 1984).

11 In the context of Middle East studies at German universities, only one similar project and one key position can be found that might resemble elements of the situation in the field of history: Enno Littmann (1875–1958) was for many years the representative for Middle East studies at the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaften* (German national research fund) founded in 1920, but nobody has suspected yet, that there might have been a "Littmann school"; and earlier, at Berlin, Eduard Sachau (1845–1930) headed the *Ibn Sa'd edition* (1904–28), but it was much smaller than the *MGH*. The projects of the *Tabari edition* (1879–1901) and of the *EI* (since 1908) were both based at Leiden, and both were international.

12 "*Der Blick auf ein halbes Jahrhundert Fachgeschichte erhebt nicht den Anspruch, dieses Problem zu lösen. Er erhebt allerdings den Anspruch, einen Beitrag zur Ätiologie des positiven und negativen Profils der Semitistik, Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft in Deutschland zu leisten*" (Hanisch 2003a: X).

13 "*Massgeblich für die äussere, organisatorische Verselbständigung des Faches war die innere Logik der Wissenschaft. Die intensive, wissenschaftliche, d.h. methodisch-rationale Behandlung des Sanskrit erforderte es, dass ein spezialisierter Forscher sich allein diesem Zweig der orientalischen Sprachen zuwandte*" (Mangold 2004: 161).

14 *Bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik hatte sich nicht nur ein grosses Spektrum deutscher Orientalistik etabliert. Die geordneten Einsätze der Orientalisten im Rahmen der kolonialistischen und imperialistischen Aussenpolitik des Kaiserreichs sowie im 1. Weltkrieg verweisen auf die Kompatibilität von Wissenschaft, Ideologie, Ökonomie und Politik. In der Gesamtheit von Arabistik, Semitistik, Turkologie, Iranistik, Nordafrikanistik, Sowjetforschung, Archäologie, Philosophie, Kunstgeschichte, Geographie, Geschichte, Theologie, Medizingeschichte, Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Islamwissenschaften befasste sich die Orientalistik mit dem vorislamischen sowie dem islamischen Orient von Nordafrika über die Türkei und die Arabische Halbinsel bis hin zum Iran und Afghanistan ab dem 7. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.*

15 *die ideele Hegemonie der europäischen Zivilisation auf der einen Seite und der Anspruch auf die ökonomische Hegemonie Deutschlands durch eine Verbindung mit den Völkern des Orients auf der anderen, stand kurz vor der Regierungsübernahme der Nationalsozialisten am Ende einer ideen-und wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung der Orientalistik. Ob religiöse, wissenschaftliche, kulturelle, ökonomische, rassische, sprachliche und nationale Hegemonie; in dem Wechselspiel von Ideologie und Wissenschaft hatte man ein immer ausgefeilteres System von Kategorien geschaffen, die durch zahlreiche Variationsmöglichkeiten miteinander zu kombinieren waren, so dass das Verhältnis zum Orient je nach Interessenlage durch grundlegende, nicht überbrückbare Gegensätze oder aber durch Gemeinsamkeiten definiert werden konnte.*

16 The research on the history of medicine was Awraham Zloczower's M.A. thesis submitted at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem in 1960.
17 Olaf Willett states that Weber failed to prove his point and therefore his approach and thesis were rejected (2001: 21). Taking a closer look at the debate, Willett's summary does not seem to be quite accurate. The criticism raised followed a line of argument which consisted of two points: first, disciplinary history (in general) is not merely the reconstruction of the process in which a particular school establishes, preserves, and expands its domination over the discipline. This can be understood to mean that disciplines were usually not dominated by one school only. Second, the history of history as a discipline should be studied as any other disciplinary history, and not be "reduced" to mere power struggles. Understandable as it may be that historians prefer their own history to follow the general pattern, rather than any "*Sonderweg*", it does not necessarily mean that Weber failed in what he set out to do, namely to explain the Ranke-phenomenon.
18 German academies: Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher, Leopoldina (1652); Akademien der Wissenschaft: Berlin (1711), Göttingen (1751), Erfurt (1758), Munich (1769), Prague (1785), Leipzig (1846); Vienna (1847); Heidelberg (1909) (Stern 1952: 9).
19 Mangold's study is based on an extensive survey of such statements. Unfortunately, the problem of contextualization has not been taken seriously.

2 Working at the university

1 Fück, Paret, Johansen, and Mangold do not take the general changes at the universities into consideration. Hanisch subscribes to the "one-man-story" of the first narrative (Hanisch 2003: 1–5). Also Marchand subscribes to this narrative, presenting a dramatic account of how Humboldt single-handedly transformed the system, and how his achievement was already undone in the 1820s, by his reactionary successors (Marchand 1996: 24–35).
2 For some of the implications: Richarz 1974.
3 Altdorf (1622–1809), Bamberg (1648–1803), Bützow (1760–89), Dillingen (1554–1804), Duisburg (1655–1816), Erfurt (1392–1816), Frankfurt/Oder (1506–1811) (integrated into the university of Breslau), Fulda (1734–1802), Helmstedt (1576–1810), Herborn (1584–1816), Köln (1388–1796), Mainz (1477–1797), Münster (1780–1818), Paderborn (1614–1819), Rinteln (1621–1804), Salzburg (1620–1810), Stuttgart (1781–94), Trier (1473–1798), Wittenberg (1502–1817)(integrated into the university of Halle).
4 State examination was made obligatory for high-school teachers in all German states by the mid-century (Tenorth 1987: 255). By 1870, the process of professionalization was completed for male teachers (Tenorth 1987: 250). By contrast, church influence remained strong on elementary schools until 1918 (Tenorth 1987: 253–54).
5 Future teachers at elementary schools were trained at (non-academic) seminars; their two-year courses focused on practical training; an academic education for such teachers was first introduced in 1920 (Tenorth 1987: 252–53).
6 These could also be five: two faculties of theology: one Catholic, the other Protestant; and a faculty (*Kameralistik*) geared towards the training of future civil servants, until it was either pushed out or swallowed up by the faculty of law in its drive for monopoly (for the latter, see Bleek 1972; Turner 1987: 231–32).
7 For an outline of the developments in the Habsburg Empire, see Tenorth 1987: 251; Turner 1987: 244–47.
8 Control over education was a central means for integration of the newly formed German states. Between 1803 and 1815, the existing 294 German sovereign entities had been reduced to 41 states (Jeismann 1987a: 6–8).
9 Cited in Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 256. It is not without irony that in the *Oberrealschulen*, the secondary schools without Latin, which were established since the 1870s, the decisive educational function for the character and the mind which had traditionally been ascribed to Latin, was thought to be provided by French (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 257).
10 In the course of an education at *Realschulen* (secondary schools), mathematics and the sciences were usually taught for 70 to 85 hours per week. (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 276–78).
11 These were still double the hours allotted to French, which was the second foreign language. English was not regularly taught at high schools.
12 The severity of the rivalry is reflected in the distribution of pupils in higher education according to school types: *Gymnasium*: 1882: 62%, 1886: 63%, 1900: 59%, 1911: 46%, 1918: 39%, 1931: 29%; *Realgymnasium*: 1882: 31%, 1886: 25%, 1900: 14%, 1911: 22%, 1918: 27%, 1931: 41%; *Oberrealschule*: 1882: 7%, 1886: 12%, 1900: 27%, 1911: 31%, 1918: 34%, 1931: 29% (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 246).
13 Though the writing of an essay in Latin was no longer part of the final exam at high schools after 1892, the main part of that exam was a translation of a German text to Latin; at the *Realgymnasium*, pupils had only to translate a Latin text to German in their final exam (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 255).
14 At least for the humanities, the decline of the innovative drive at German universities in the first half of the twentieth century, which Ben-David and Zloczower set out to explain in their article, may be attributable to that aspect of the differentiation process, rather than the organization of the institute as the authors suggest (Ben-David and Zloczower 1962: 47–62).
15 The implementation of the law was officially halted in February 1935 (Titze 1989: 231). On measures that excluded Jewish pupils and students, see Titze 1989: 227; Zymek 1989: 199–200.
16 That policy may have given rise to a fairly wide use of *locum tenens*, as exemplified in the employment record of scholars like Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956), Wilhelm Heffening (1894–1944), Gustav Haloun (1898–1951), Johann Fück (1894–1974), Helmut Scheel (1895–1967), Gustav Mensching (1901–78), Hans Wehr (1909–81), and Alfons Maria Schneider (1896–1952).
17 The following account is primarily based on a rereading the same material that has been used for the preceding part from a different perspective. Therefore, references that have already been given will not be cited again. In addition, the account is based on Schmeiser 1994.
18 For examples from the University of Erlangen: Willett 2001: 110–214.
19 The elementary level included the ability to read fluently printed texts in Latin and Gothic scripts, to write legibly and from dictation without mistakes, as well as proficiency in arithmetic and knowledge of the Bible (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 246–47).
20 A formal agreement among German states regarding the mutual recognition of the *Abitur* was concluded in 1874 (Jarausch 1991: 251).
21 The *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Arabistik und Islamkunde* (Sezgin 1990–93) includes only publications in German. Only three dissertations on Middle East topics are listed for the 1860s. In the 1870s, their number was 14, in the 1880s, 37; afterwards, their numbers increased: 1890s: 83, 1900s: 123, 1910s: 110, 1920s: 160; 1930s: 181, and 1940s: 74.
22 For example, at the University of Halle in 1865, a lecturer would on average earn about 7 percent of the salary of an *ordinarius* (Turner 1987: 233).

3 Writings and writers on the Middle East

1 For a discussion of the actual representation on the institutional level below the rank of *ordinarius*, see "Survey of the institutional manifestations of Islamic studies' in Chapter 7.

2 Especially, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Historische Kommission 1875–1912); *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (Killy/Vierhaus 1995–2000); *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Historische Kommission 1952–).
3 In particular from the professional journals: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1847–1944; Wiesbaden, 1945–49[1950]); *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna, 1887–); *Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients* (Berlin, 1910–); *Die Welt des Islams. Internationale Zeitschrift für die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Islams, besonders in der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1913–43; Leiden, 1951–).
4 For a list of the main sources checked, see Sezgin 1990–93: vol. 11, 455–551.
5 Austria became a member in 1920.
6 Examplified by Josef Strzygowski, Friedrich Sarre, Ernst Kühnel, Ernst Dietz, Heinrich Glück, Kurt Erdmann.
7 Numismatics: Franz von Erdmann, Christian Frähn, Heinrich Nützel, Eduard von Zambaur, Richard Vasmer; botany: Theodor Kotschy.
8 E.g., Fürchtegott Lebrecht, Moritz Steinschneider, Wilhelm Bacher, Martin Schreiner, Samuel Poznanski, David Kaufmann, Jakob Guttmann, Saul Horovitz, Israel Srul Friedländer, Hermann Kroner.
9 Franz Delitzsch, Daniel Bonifatius Haneberg.
10 August Wünsche (with special interest in Hebrew and Talmud studies; also Arabic); and Martin Grabmann (philosophy); one might add also Hans Alexander Winkler (history of religion).
11 Titus Tobler; Carl Sandreczki (missionary in Palestine); Conrad Schick (originally missionary, later living and working in Palestine); Reinhold Röhricht; Georg Gatt (missionary); Ludwig Schneller (missionary); Gottlieb Schumacher (Templar living in Palestine); Leonard Bauer, Lamec Saad (physician in Jaffa); Franz Dunkel, Fritz Hoppe (travel); Otto Eberhard (travel); Hans H. Spoer (contemporary Syria and Palestine); Tuafiq Canaan (ethnography); Ernst Schmitz; Paul Fleischmann. On the German Palestine Association, established in affiliation to the *DMG* in 1877: Mangold 2004: 221–25.
12 Geography: Heinrich Barth, Heinrich Kiepert, Carl Ritter, Philipp Paulitschke, Paul Ascherson (also botany), Siegmund Günther, Oskar Lenz, Theobald Fischer, Max Blanckenhorn, Hugo Grothe-Harkányi, Eugen Oberhummer, Ewald Banse, Richard Hennig, Siegfried Passarge, Paul Range, Hermann von Wissmann, Carl Rathjens, Heinrich Schiffers; ethnology: Rudolf Virchow (pathologist with interest in anthropology), Carl Benjamin Klunzinger (physician with interest in zoology and anthropology), Leo Frobenius, Joseph Henninger; zoology: Alfred Edmund Brehm, Wilhelm Kobelt (travel).
13 Among the above: Barth, Lenz, T. Fischer, Oberhummer, Hennig, Passarge, Range, von Wissmann, Klunzinger.
14 Thaddäus Eduard Gumprecht, Martin Theodor von Heuglin, Gerhard Rohlfs, Heinrich von Maltzan, Gustav Nachtigal, Georg Schweinfurth, Ernst Marno, Amand von Schwiger-Lerchenfeld, Paul Pasig, Rudolf Fitzner, Hans Helfritz.
15 Egyptologists: Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha, Adolf Erman; lived/worked in Egypt: Max Meyerhof, Ernst Klippel; lived/worked in Libya: Richard Pfalz.
16 Max Hübner, Paul Mohr, Paul Rohrbach, Hermann Singer, Ernst Max Roloff, B. Lawrence von Mackay, Hans Kohn; Conrad Oehlrich, Alfred Bonné, Reinhard Hüber.
17 Ottokar Maria Schlechta von Wschehrd, Otto Blau; Martin L. Hansal; a later entry made an army officer who had traveled widely during his service and became a scholar (*Privatgelehrter*) upon his retirement: Max Quedenfeldt.
18 For example, Gustav Weil, Albert Socin, David Heinrich Müller, Carl Brockelmann, Gotthold Weil, Paul Rohrbach, and Bertold Spuler.
19 Maulana Sadr-ud-Din and Hugo Marcus; on the history of the community: Abdullah 1981; Bauknecht 2001.
20 Washington Irving, Eugene Daumas, Richard Francis Burton.

4. The establishment of modern Oriental studies

1 For an example of such a line of reasoning with regard to development of the modern university in general, see Hanisch 2003: 2:

> *Seine* [i.e. Wilhelm von Humboldt] *Darlegungen in dem Fragment "über die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin" dienten nicht nur bei der Errichtung der Berliner Universität als Grundlage, sondern setzten sich in der Folge auch in anderen preussischen und ausserpreussischen Universitäten als Ideal und Bezugsrahmen für die Organisation des akademischen Unterrichts durch.*

2 Mangold (2004: 29–30, 117–18) argues that apart from Heidelberg and Würzburg, all chairs for Oriental languages were established at the faculties of philosophy and that therefore the modern tradition of Oriental studies emerged in a framework of institutional continuity. However, her argument does not take into account the changing status of the faculty of philosophy vis-à-vis that of theology (as well as those of medicine and law) nor the relative importance of newly established or reorganized universities (especially Bonn, Munich, Breslau, Halle, Berlin) for the initial developments.
3 Rather similar to the Austrian *Orientalische Akademie*/Oriental Academy (established by Maria Theresia in 1754); Hammer-Purgstall was the one exceptional student who proofed the rule (Fück 1955: 128–29).
4 Among the students in Paris were the following scholars: Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, Gustav Leberecht Flügel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag, Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten, Marcus Joseph Müller, Salomon Munk, Gustav Weil, Georg Heinrich Bernstein, Franz Bopp, Herrmann Brockhaus, Christian Lassen, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Johann August Vullers, and Johann Gustav Stickel. Apart from Schlegel, the scholars specializing in Sanskrit (Bopp, Brockhaus, and Lassen) studied also in England.
5 Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Erlangen, Giessen, Göttingen, Greifswald, Halle, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipzig, Marburg, Munich, Prague, and Würzburg.
6 Berlin: 1812–20 Georg Heinrich Bernstein; 1821–25 Franz Bopp; 1837–76 Julius Heinrich Petermann; Bonn: 1830–40 Christian Lassen; 1844–45 Johann Gustav Gildemeister; Breslau: 1832–45 Adolf Friedrich Stenzler; Erlangen: 1849–52 Friedrich von Spiegel; Göttingen: 1827–31 Heinrich Ewald; 1842–52 Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld; 1848–62 Theodor Benfey; Greifswald: 1840–47 Albrecht Hoefer; Halle: 1830–35 Emil Rödiger; 1836–38 August Pott; Heidelberg: 1845–61 Gustav Weil; Jena: 1839–41 Hermann Brockhaus; Kiel: 1823–30 Justus Olshausen; Leipzig: 1841–48 Herman Brockhaus; Munich: 1840–47 Marcus Joseph Müller; Tübingen: 1848–56 Rudolf von Roth.
7 Justus Olshausen (1800–882) who held the chair at Kiel was a student of Sacy (Fück 1955: 157).
8 As can be seen in Appendix 3, Franz Dietrich was *ordinarius* for Oriental languages (with emphasis on Sanskrit) and ancient German literature at Marburg since 1848. Johann Gustav Gildemeister held an appointment for Oriental languages; he taught also Sanskrit, although a separate chair for the field existed at Bonn. At Munich, the same chair could be held consecutively by Othmar Frank, who specialized in Indian and Iranian studies, and Marcus Müller, who received his appointment under the condition that he would not interfere with Biblical studies. At Tübingen, Heinrich Ewald's student, Rudolf von Roth was first lecturer, then *extraordinarius* of Oriental languages, before he was appointed to a chair that allowed him to concentrate on Indian studies. At Kiel, the institutionally required qualification was Old Testament and Oriental languages including Sanskrit. Even Bopp's appointment at Berlin was formally one for Oriental languages and comparative linguistics.

9 Johann H. Kistenmaker and Laurenz Reinke (Senior) at Münster, Ernst Friedrich Carl Rosenmüller at Leipzig, and Thomas Christian Tychsen at Göttingen.
10 Johann Gustav Gildemeister (1812–90) had been lecturer (1840–44) and then (1844–45) *extraordinarius* of Oriental languages at the faculty of philosophy at Bonn; in 1845 he accepted the position as *ordinarius* of Old Testament and Oriental languages at the faculty of theology at Marburg (*ADB* 49: 354–59; *DBE* 4: 8; Fück 1955: 173; Stache-Rosen 1990: 40–41; Goren 2003: 334).
11 Chairs in the science disciplines were first established at the faculty of medicine and then were gradually relocated to the faculty of philosophy since the 1830s.
12 Most prominently, Heinrich Ewald, but also Peter von Bohlen, Albrecht Hoefer, August Pott, Emil Rödiger, Friedrich Rückert, Wilhelm Schott, Adolf Friedrich Stenzler; and of course the younger generation of scholars: Theodor Benfey, Anton Boller, Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici, August Dillmann, Johann Gustav Gildemeister, Julius Heinrich Petermann, Rudolf von Roth, Friedrich von Spiegel, Albrecht Weber, Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld.
13 Previous directors, as for example Ottokar Maria Freiherr von Schlechta-Wschehrd (1825–94), were even less professional academics (*DBE* 8: 658; Preissler 1995: 298).
14 This was probably due to the fact that the admission to higher civil-service positions became conditioned on a degree in law (Bleek 1972).
15 Apart from Fleischer's chair, only Ewald's has been "moved" from one faculty to another during his appointment. In Ewald's case, however, it was moved, on his own request, from the faculty of philosophy to that of theology.
16 Jeismann 1987a: 19–21; Marchand 1996: 25–26.
17 This is attested not only by the Jewish scholars who converted to Christianity, but also by the conversions of Catholic scholars who sought employment at Prussian universities.
18 Pfeiffer doubts that this actually happened. For the present purpose, however, it does not matter whether or not the story is true, it is quite sufficient that it could be told and was accepted as credible.
19 For example, this assumption provided the basis for a major research project which led to the publication of two volumes: Flashar *et al.* 1979 and Bollack and Wismann 1983.
20 Until 1867, the thesis had to be written in Latin at the faculties of medicine and philosophy at Prussian universities, afterwards students could choose either Latin or German. In 1866 the requirement of a Latin essay was dropped from the teacher exam, except for classical philology where it remained part of the exam until 1887 (Albisetti and Lundgreen 1991: 267 n. 87).
21 "One might even say that it [the *Prolegomena*] is more an introduction to the mental world of the academic philologist than to that of Homer" (Marchand 1996: 20).
22 For example, in Marchand's account Humboldt is presented as having single-handedly transformed the entire Prussian education system including the universities during his short term in office as head of what later became the ministry of education (February 1809 to June 1910). But that stunning achievement was not followed up, and the reform policy was even reversed while Karl Freiherr von Stein zum Altenstein (1770–1840) served as minister of education (1817–38) (Marchand 1996: 25–32).
23 It may be worthwhile remembering that the first important professional historians were trained as classical philologists: For example, Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) had studied theology and philology before embarking in his career in history as *extraordinarius* at Berlin in 1825; and Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–86) was lecturer of classical philology (*Habilitation*: 1831) at Berlin when he invented Hellenism by writing its history (1836–43).
24 For example, August Boeckh (1785–1867), the "champion" of nineteenth-century philology, was appointed to the chair of rhetoric at the university of Berlin in 1811 (Marchand 1996: 42).
25 Among the scholars who started publishing in the first half of the nineteenth century were Theodor Aufrecht, Theodor Benfey, Anton Boller, Franz Bopp, Albrecht Hoefer, Adalbert Kuhn, August Pott, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, and Albrecht Weber. The exceptions, where— in biographical terms—Sanskrit studies were not closely tied to interests in classical philology and comparative linguistics, were Hermann Brockhaus, Christian Lassen, Rudolf von Roth, and Adolf Friedrich Stenzler.

26 Persian language studies became "attached" to Sanskrit studies because they were seen as a branch within the same "family," namely Indo-European languages.
27 After Bernstein's death in 1860, the university did not fill the vacancy until 1880, when Franz Praetorius was appointed. During the twenty years in between, Oriental languages were taught only by Stenzler.
28 Hermann had been offered the chair at Berlin, but he declined. August Boeckh was then the second choice.
29 In chronological terms, her argument is not quite consistent. Wolf's text, which she cites, was published in 1807, thus predated Boeckh.
30 For example, Hermann writes about Boeckh: "*Mit Bedauren müssen wir bekennen, bey Hrn. B. all diese Eigenschaften [i.e. Unbefangenheit, Scharfsinn und Gewandtheit, Überlegung und Besonnenheit, Kenntnis der Sprache, Vorsicht, Geschicklichkeit und Übung im Emendieren] nur zu oft, ja fast überall zu vermissen* ..." (cited in Vogt 1979: 114).
31 As the example of Gustav Seyffarth (1797–1885/6) illustrates, such disputes could have grave results: his defeat ended his university career (Ebers 1887; Blumenthal 1991; Preissler 1995: 245–47).
32 For an illustration in Middle East studies, see the list of reviewers in Sezgin 1990–93, vol. 19.
33 The connection between conception and possibility of practical realization is well illustrated in the career of Karl Richard Lepsius: in 1842 Lepsius requested the permission to teach Egyptology at Berlin, but the university declined, arguing that it was not a proper subject. In 1846 he became *ordinarius* of Egyptology at Berlin, after he had returned from an expedition to Egypt and the Sudan during which he had acquired a spectacular collection of artifacts (*ADB* 51: 659–70; *DBE* 6: 337; *NDB* 14: 308–9; Fück 1955: 190–91; Freier and Reineke 1988; Preissler 1995: 296; Goren 2003: 169–72).
34 This interpretation challenges Mangold's view according to which Fleischer removed comparative linguistics from mainstream Oriental studies. Her reading is based on Fleischer's criticism of Ewald's "synthetic-speculative method" which by extension applied also to the works of Franz Bopp and of August Pott (1802–87), the leading scholars in comparative linguistics (Mangold 2004: 96)—Fleischer's criticism can and, to my mind, should be read as an argument not about the "ends," but rather the "means." In order to get to the end result, in which he was interested, Ewald was ready to speculate. Fleischer argued that speculation was not an option. Instead, he postulated the need for positive knowledge, thus claiming his own field of expertise and that of other Orientalists. If he had challenged the ultimate aim (comparative linguistics), he would have deprived his own position of much of its legitimization. Theodor Nöldeke followed a similar strategy in his criticism of Ewald's method.
35 "*konstruierten* [...] *ihren Erkenntnisgegenstand unter Ausklammerung des Orients*" (Hanisch 2003: 15).
36 There were other theologians with similar interests, as for example, Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760–1834), Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826), Georg Wilhelm Lorsbach (1752–1816), and Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller (1768–1835) (Mangold 2004: 122–23).
37 Schultens' success becomes even more striking by comparison to the very unsuccessful academic career of Johann Jakob Reiske (1716–76), whose misfortunes seem to be based on the fact that he lived in the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth century (Fück 1955: 108–24).
38 As can be seen by comparing Schultens' approach to that of Delitzsch 1873.

39 On this point, see Mangold 2004: 97. Mangold has difficulties reconciling Ewald the orientalist with Ewald the theologian, since she premises the modern philological approach to Oriental languages in opposition to theology.
40 The government changed in 1847; and Maximilian II ascended to the throne in 1848.
41 To my mind, this is also the background to the opening address by de Wette at the meeting of the *DMG* held at Basel in 1847 (*ZDMG* 2 /1848: 2; also cited in Hanisch 2003: 16–17).
42 See for example, Franz Delitzsch (1813–90), an *ordinarius* of Protestant theology who focused on missionary work among Jews (*DBE* 2: 477; *NDB* 3: 581–82; Fück 1955: 172; Goren 2003: 176–78; Wassermann 2003: 21–22); and Daniel Bonifatius von Haneberg (1816–76) who taught at Munich, until he became bishop of Speyer in 1872 (*DBE* 4: 368; *NDB* 7: 613; Babinger 1957: 268–69; Preissler 1995: 259).
43 From the scholars included in Appendix 3, who held their first appointment before 1850, the following were *Sacy's students*: Georg Heinrich Bernstein, Franz Bopp, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, Othmar Frank, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag, Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten, Marcus Joseph Müller, Justus Olshausen, Johann Gustav Stickel, Johann August Vullers; *scholars who studied in Paris, but not (primarily) with Sacy:* Hermann Brockhaus, Johann Gustav Gildemeister, Christian Lassen, Karl Richard Lepsius, Rudolf von Roth, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Friedrich von Spiegel, Adolf Friedrich Stenzler, Albrecht Weber, Gustav Weil; *scholars who did not study in France:* Theodor Benfey, Peter von Bohlen, Anton Boller, Franz Julius Delitzsch, Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici, August Dillmann, Heinrich Ewald, Daniel Bonifatius von Haneberg, Ferdinand Hitzig, Albrecht Hoefer, Johann H. Kistenmaker, Julius Heinrich Petermann, August Pott, Laurenz Reinke (Senior), Emil Rödiger, Friedrich Rückert, Gustav Seyffarth, Wilhelm Schott, Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld.

5 The beginning of differentiation: Sanskrit and Semitic languages

1 At Bonn, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag and Christian Lassen were employed; at Leipzig, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer and Hermann Brockhaus, and at Halle, Emil Rödiger and August Pott. At Berlin, Franz Bopp held the chair for comparative linguistics and Oriental languages (Sanskrit). A second chair was established for Friedrich Rückert, but remained vacant after Rückert left in 1848.
2 Wilhelm Schott's chair for Altaic, Tatar, and Finnish studies at Berlin was a personal appointment, similar to the chair for Egyptology held by Karl Richard Lepsius. The chair for Chinese and Armenian studies at Munich had been established for Karl Friedrich Neumann, in return for his donation of a large collection of Oriental books and manuscripts to the library. At Heidelberg, a chair with unprecedented combination of Oriental languages and ancient German literature was established in 1848. One might add, Friedrich Rückert's appointment at Berlin, since it was made on the special request of the Prussian king (*DBE* 8: 444–45; Fück 1955: 167–68; Bobzin 1987 and 1988; Schimmel 1987; Erdmann 1988; Stache-Rosen 1990: 11–12; Preissler 1995: 256; Fischer and Gömmel 1990; Ellinger 2006: 520).
3 Aloys Sprenger at Bern in 1858 (*DBE* 9: 418; Fück 1955: 176–79; Paret 1968: 11; Preissler 1995: 294); Leo Reinisch at Vienna in 1859 (Müller 1903); and Julius Fürst as *ordinarius* for Aramaic studies at Leipzig in 1864 (Mangold 2004: 164).
4 Friedrich von Spiegel at Erlangen in 1852, Justus Olshausen at Königsberg in 1853, August Dillmann at Kiel in 1854; Ernst Heinrich Meier at Tübingen in 1856; Johann Gustav Gildemeister (who worked also at the library) at Bonn in 1859; Emil Rödiger at Berlin in 1860; and Richard Gosche at Halle in 1862. Justus Olshausen was dismissed at Kiel.
5 Albrecht Weber at Berlin in 1867; Theodor Nöldeke at Kiel in 1868; Adalbert Merx at Tübingen in 1869; Friedrich Müller at Vienna in 1869; and Paul de Lagarde at Göttingen in 1869.

6 Berlin: 1848–60 (Semitic languages), 1864–67/76 (Sanskrit and comparative linguistics); Bonn: 1868–75 (Indian studies); Breslau: 1860–80 (Semitic languages); Halle 1860–62 (Semitic languages); Kiel 1864–68 (Oriental languages); Tübingen 1848–56 (Oriental languages); Tübingen 1866–69 (Semitic languages); Würzburg 1826–77 (Oriental languages).
7 Fück's account on the history of Arabic studies is organized in form of bio-bibliographical sketches of individual scholars, thus the discipline and its development is not discussed. Paret's account focuses on individual scholars of that period, especially Theodor Nöldeke, but not the discipline as such. Johansen see the period just as part of Fleischer's long reign.
8 Fück, Paret, and Johansen do not related to Sanskrit studies, since they deal with Arabic and Islamic studies. Also, the disciplinary history of Indian studies tends to be written as a separate tradition (e.g., Stache-Rosen 1990).
9 *Weil die Beschäftigung mit der Indogermanistik dem Wissenschaftsverständnis der modernen Universitäten näher kam als die aus der Theologie entwachsene Semitistik, fand sie viele kompetente Bearbeiter und genoss zumindest innerhalb der philosophischen Fakultäten eine stärkere Förderung als die semitischen Sprachen.*
10 The unfading dream that was not realized for practical reasons may have been the reason why Nöldeke could not appreciate Arabic poetry. The lack of appreciation may therefore be personal rather than representative for scholars in Oriental philology as Johansen holds when he cites Nöldeke's statement (made in 1899) as evidence that "German Oriental studies was so much dominated by the philological approach that scholars even lost sight of the aesthetic values of Arabic poetry" (Johansen 1990: 78; 1994: 82; see also Fähndrich 1976; Hanisch 2003: 63–64).
11 For example, Franz Dietrich was appointed *ordinarius* for Oriental languages (especially Sanskrit and comparative linguistics) and early German literature at Marburg in 1848; and Adolf Holtzmann held a chair for Sanskrit and German studies at Heidelberg since 1852.
12 Sanskrit was seen as the decisive Oriental language at Berlin at the time. This is reflected by the fact that Georg Heinrich Bernstein, one of Sacy's students, was not promoted to *ordinarius* at Berlin because his knowledge of Sanskrit was thought to be insufficient. After Bernstein left Berlin, Franz Bopp became first *extraordinarius*, then *ordinarius* for Oriental languages and comparative linguistics (Mangold 2004: 133–34).
13 This is also reflected in the training background of quite a number of scholars in the field (e.g., Theodor Aufrecht, Albrecht Hoefer, Adalbert Kuhn, Albrecht Weber, Friedrich Müller, Carl Capeller, Bertold Delbrück, and Ernst Windisch).
14 Johann Gustav Stickel was *ordinarius* for 55 years at Jena; Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer 53 years at Leipzig; Justus Olshausen 52 years at Kiel and Königsberg; Johann August Vullers 48 year at Giessen; Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 47 years at Göttingen; Wilhelm Ahlwardt 47 years at Greifswald; Ernst Bertheau 46 years at Göttingen; Adolf Friedrich Stenzler 42 years at Breslau; Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten 42 years at Jena and Greifswald; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag 40 years at Bonn; Georg Heinrich Bernstein 40 years at Breslau; Friedrich von Spiegel 39 years at Erlangen; Emil Rödiger 39 years at Halle and Berlin; Franz Bopp 39 years at Berlin, August Pott 39 years at Halle; and Heinrich Ewald 35 years at Göttingen and Tübingen. Ewald's stay in office was cut short, since he refused the pledge of allegiance to the Prussian king.
15 For example, Adalbert Merx (1838–1909) edited and published the first professional journal for research on the Old Testament (*Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*), 1867–72 (*DBE* 7: 79; *NDB* 16: 194–95; Rotter 1974b: 12).
16 Contrary to Marchand's presentation (1996: 220–27), the probing into the origins of the Bible made during the initial stages of Assyriology may not have been serious, as I shall try to show in the next chapter.

17 For example: Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, Gustav Flügel, Georg Freytag, Friedrich Rückert, Johann Gottfried Kosegarten, Ludwig Johann Gottfried Wetzstein, Peter von Bohlen, Wilhelm Schott. Among the very few exceptions were Marcus Joseph Müller, Friedrich von Spiegel, and Gustav Weil (who studied history and was no candidate for theology for lack of "membership").

18 For example, Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici, Ernst Trumpp, Julius Euting, Heinrich Zimmern, Georg Jacob, Christian Seybold, August Haffner, Friedrich Schulthess, Carl Meinhof, Adolf Rücker, Eberhard Nestlé, Georg Graf, Alois Musil, Hermann Ranke, Hermann Junker, August Klingenheben, Richard Hartmann, Hans Bauer, Heinrich Johann Samuel Guyer, Otto Pretzl.

19 Martin Hartmann and Frants Buhl (began to study in Copenhagen) in the early 1870s, followed by August Fischer, Georg Kampffmeyer (began to study in Switzerland) and Friedrich Müller (came to specialize in the study of Central Asia) in the 1880s.

20 For example, Friedrich Giese, Alexander von Bulmerincq, Friedrich Schwally, Carl Heinrich Becker (began to study at Lausanne), Ernest Lindl, Enno Littmann, Gustav Hölscher, Paul Kahle, Rudolf Strothmann, and Bernhard Vandenhoff.

21 Friedrich Giese, Friedrich Schwally, and Rudolf Strothmann passed also the teacher exam. Paul Kahle worked as school headmaster (Cairo).

22 Two of the examples given (Hanisch 2003: 59 n. 188) may belong to a somewhat different context: Werner Caskel (1896–1970) changed his studies from theology to Oriental languages after his military service in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War (*DBE* 2: 291; Meyer 1972; Wild 1985: 167–68; Hanisch 2003: 182; Ellinger 2006: 472–73). Also Otto Pretzl (1893–1941) served in the Ottoman Empire, but he concluded his theological training by graduation and then switched to Oriental studies (*DBE* 8: 64; Spitaler 1942; Fück 1955: 311; Hanisch 2003: 201; Ellinger 2006: 514).

23 In addition to Heinrich Ewald, Emil Rödiger (1801–74) belonged to the first generation of scholars, who studied in the 1820s, did not study with Sacy and also graduated in theology (lic. theol.) (*ADB* 29: 26–30; *DBE* 8: 349; Fück 1955: 173; Preissler 1995: 245–46).

24 For example: Heinrich Ewald, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, Gustav Flügel, Marcus Josef Müller, Moritz Steinschneider, Karl Heinrich Graf, Adalbert Kuhn, and August Pott.

25 For example, Carl Capeller, Berthold Delbrück, Ernst Windisch, Hermann Brunnhofer, Wilhelm Geiger, and Friedrich Rosen.

26 For the 1890s, I found only Heinrich Hilgenfeld.

27 For example, in the 1880s: Karl Vollers, Karl Dyroff, Hubert Grimme, Friedrich Schwally, Eberhard Nestlé; in 1890s: Carl Brockelmann, Friedrich Gies (exam: 1899); after 1900: Paul Kahle, who was head master at German school in Cairo (1903–8); and Gotthelf Bergsträsser (exam: 1908).

28 For an example for a public library, see Wilhelm von Heyd (1823–1906) who worked at the public library in Stuttgart (1857–97) (*DBE* 5: 16; *NDB* 9: 63).

29 Julius Heinrich Petermann undertook a trip to Syria, Iraq and Persia (1852–55), funded by the Prussian king, during which he bought manuscript collections for the royal library in Berlin; Alfred von Kremer undertook a trip to Istanbul and Syria in 1849, funded by the academy of sciences at Vienna for the purpose of buying manuscript collections. Aloys Sprenger traveled back from India to Europe via Muscat, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt (1854–56). During his trip he acquired manuscript collections which were bought by the library in Berlin. Johann Gottfried Wetzstein, who had worked for a year at the Bodleian library at Oxford, acquired four major manuscript collections during his stay in Damascus as Prussian honorary consul (1848–62); Ignaz Goldziher bought manuscripts for the Hungarian academy of sciences during his trip to Syria, Palestine and Egypt in 1873–74; Hermann Jacobi used a study trip to India in 1873–74 to buy manuscript collections; Joseph von Karabaček facilitated the acquisition of the extensive collection of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic papyri (Erzherzog Rainer) at Vienna in 1883–84; Eduard Glaser undertook four trips to Southern Arabia between 1882 and 1894, the material he collected went to libraries and museums in Berlin, London, Paris and Vienna.

30 Three scholars included in the list, namely Stenzler, Roth, and Mann, belonged in their academic research to the field of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. Both Stenzler and Roth focused on India, but they worked at the library on account of their knowledge of Middle Eastern languages. Mann was a specialist for Persian.

31 The position of the director at the Khedival library at Cairo was by German–Egyptian agreement a German position (Mangold 2004: 215; Hanisch 2003: 31).

32 As mentioned, several chairs were established for scholars who worked at the university libraries after 1850: Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld at Göttingen in 1852, Rudolf Roth at Tübingen in 1856; Gustav Weil at Heidelberg in 1861; and Wilhelm Ahlwardt at Greifswald in 1861.

33 Albrecht Hoefer prepared a catalog of Indian manuscripts at royal library in Berlin in the 1830s; Albrecht Weber prepared an updated catalog of Sanskrit manuscripts at the royal library in Berlin in the early 1850s; Theodor Aufrecht prepared a catalog of Sanskrit manuscripts at the Bodleian library/Oxford in the 1850s; and later the catalogs of Sanskrit manuscripts at the libraries of the Trinity college, Cambridge (1869), at Firenze (1892) and at Leipzig (1901) and the royal library at Munich (1909); Friedrich Müller worked at the university library in Vienna since 1858, and switched employment to the court library in 1861; Georg Bühler, one of Benfey's students, who worked as assistant librarian at Windsor Castle (1860–62), and then at the library at Göttingen, before he went to India in 1863; Ernst Windisch worked on a catalog of Sanskrit manuscripts at the library of Indian office in London (1870–71); Hermann Ethé prepared a manuscript catalog at the Bodley library at Oxford and at the Indian office in London (1871–75); and later a catalog of Persian manuscripts at the library at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth; Eugen Hultzsch worked as librarian in London (1879–82); Ludwig Heller had also a formal training as librarian and worked at the royal library in Berlin (1893–97); Moritz Winternitz worked as librarian at the India Institute, Oxford (1895–98); Heinrich Lüders worked as librarian at the India Institute at Oxford (1895–98); Otto Schrader was director of the Adyar library at Madras/India (1905–14).

34 More precisely, Mangold finds that Joseph Hammer-Purgstall was the first one to adopt the combination of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian as main Oriental languages in the journal *Fundgruben des Orients* (1811), in deviation from the traditional language combination of Hebrew, Chaldean, Aramaic and Arabic (2004: 53–54). Since she holds that the modern German scholarly tradition was established against Hammer-Purgstall, rather than in continuation of his work (2004: 82–91), she traces a second lineage to Sacy in Paris. Kosegarten is said to be the first German scholar to establish his professional qualification for his appointment at Jena on his proficiency in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (2004: 54). Together with other students of Sacy, Fleischer is thought to have established Sacy as the patron of German Oriental studies. ("*Oberhaupt und Schiedsrichter der deutschen Orientalistik*") (2004: 86). It may be worthwhile noting that, as Mangold herself shows, Kosegarten's appointment at Jena was conditioned on him being able to work also at the library at Gotha (2004: 55).

35 The *DMG* is even thought to have been the symbolical anticipation of the still-lacking political national unification ("*sie* [the *DMG*] *wurde* […] *zur symbolischen Vorwegnahme für die noch fehlende politische nationale Einigung*") (Mangold 2004: 191). Though it is not clear, at least not to this reader, which political movement at the time intended to establish a territorial state what would include Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Vienna, Basel, and Zurich, nor how such a political aim fits in with the explicit declaration of the *DMG*'s non-political character. For the latter, see the opening address by Ernst C.F.A. Schleiermacher, the president of the convention in 1845 (cited also in Preissler 1995: 282–83). This point has also been noted by Mangold (2004: 192–93).

36 "*Auch wenn in den Reden anlässlich der Gründung der Gesellschaft nicht explizit auf das Vorbild des Philologenvereins verwiesen wurde, stellte dieser doch ganz klar den Bezugspunkt für die deutschen Orientalisten dar*" (Mangold 2004: 183).

37 "*Trotzdem wird man die jährlichen Zusammenkünfte nicht als gesellige Veranstaltungen abtun dürfen. Vielmehr spricht daraus ein anderes Wissenschaftsverständnis, dem es weniger um den fachlichen Wissensgewinn als um die umfassende menschliche Bildung durch den wissenschaftlichen Geist ging*" (Mangold 2004: 210); and again: "*Es würde zu kurz greifen, die Versammlungen nur als Kristallationspunkt für den Austausch und die Kommunikation der Wissenschaftler zu interpretieren. In ihnen verwirklichte sich vielmehr das umfassende Wissenschaftsethos des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts, das den Fortschritt der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis nicht von der Ausbildung und Verbesserung der Persönlichkeit wie von der Gestaltung der Gesellschaft trennte*" (Mangold 2004: 210–11).

38 "*Das 'schöne Ziel' [of the annual meetings] [...] sahen die Orientalisten damit zunächst nicht in der Disziplinbildung, sondern im Bekenntnis zur Einheit der Wissenschaften und in der gemeinsamen Suche nach Wahrheit*" (Mangold 2004: 211).

39 Paragraphs 1–3 of the *Statuten der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft vom 2. October 1845, revidiert und angenommen von der Generalversammlung zu Leipzig am 29. September 1849*, published as enclosure to *ZDMG* 3 (1849) (Mangold 2004: 198–99; Preissler 1995: 285–86).

40 "*wahre Arbeitergesellschaft, wo die einen wirklich strenger am Werke sind, die anderen wenigstens durch Geldbeträge mitarbeiten*" (Mangold 2004: 197).

41 "*ich nehme keinen Anstand zu behaupten, dass der hauptsächliste Zweck der Gesellschaft als solcher es ist, durch Aufbringung finanzieller Mittel dieser numerisch geringen Theilnahme* [of scholars in the field] *ein Gegengewicht zu bieten*" (Praetorius 1895: 539). A reference to the speech is also found in Mangold (2004: 202).

42 "*Die Gesellschaft hält jährlich eine Generalversammlung, in Übereinstimmung mit dem von der Orientalisten-Versammlung am 2. Oct. 1844 zu Dresden gefassten Beschlusse, so lange es die Umstände erlauben, in Verbindung mit den deutschen Philologen und Schulmännern.*" This is the wording of the revised statutes (29 September 1849). When the association of philologists decided not to hold their annual convention in light of the political upheaval, the *DMG* held its general assembly on their own at Leipzig.

43 The wide range of different professional interests among the members gave rise to tensions and also led to the establishment of a separate association for secondary school teachers (*Verein der Realschulmänner*) at Meissen in 1843.

44 [The Oriental scholars' request to join was] "*erfreulich, da auch ohne Anfrage nicht nur die orientalische, sondern auch die altdeutsche und romanische Litteratur, als in den Umfang der Philologie gehörig, willkommen sein müssen*" (Mangold 2004: 184).

45 "*Denn wie sicher ich auch voraussetzen darf, der Begriff der Philologie werde von keinem von uns so eng genommen, dass darunter bloss das griechische und römische Alterthum zu verstehen sei, so könnte mir doch der Vorwurf gemacht werden eigenmächtig und willkürlich eine Neuerung vorgenommen und den Kreis sowohl der zu besprechenden Gegenstände als der Theilnehmer an den Besprechungen erweitert zu haben.*"

46 A year later, a special panel (*Sektion*) was introduced for pedagogical issues; and another one for German studies in 1861. By 1905, additional panels had also been established for philology, archaeology, historical, and epigraphical studies, Romanic languages, English, and Indo-European languages, as well as for mathematics and the sciences (Mangold 2004: 187).

47 For the citation of an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg) which explained the invitation policy, see Preissler 1995: 267.

48 Mangold mentions that philologists' convention had *once* a panel (*Sektion*) on archaeology in 1855/56 (2004: 187). It was a singular occurrence and it did not mark the acceptance of archaeology, as will be shown in the next chapter.

49 "*Der Orient unserer Studien geht längst über den semitischen Länderkreis hinaus—er umfasst ganz Asien und einen Theil Africas, also ein so weites Feld, dass es nicht leicht einem Sterblichen gegeben sein möchte, dasselbe gleichmässig zu übersehen, viel weniger, selbstthätig mit allen Arbeiten in seinen verschiedenen Theilen gleichen Schritt zu halten. In der Natur der Sache selbst liegt demnach die Forderung, dass wenigstens auf grösseren Universitäten das ost-und das westasiatische Fach jedes seinen besonderen Lehrstuhl habe, wie dies, wenn auch noch nicht überall dem Namen nach, in Berlin, Göttingen, Bonn, Halle und Leipzig bereits der Fall ist. Das Minimum aber, worauf keine deutsche Universität je Verzicht leisten sollte, ist eine ungetheilt dem Orient gewidmete ordentliche Professur neben denen für die altklassische und andere gleichberechtigte Literaturen, im Zusammenwirken mit einer theologischen alttestamentlich-exegetischen. Man frage unsere sprachgelehrten Theologen, deren viele auch als Orientalisten eines wohlverdienten Rufes geniessen—man frage sie, ob sie sich, die Hand auf's Herz, einer orientalischen Professur nach jetzigem Maßstabe gewachsen fühlen—und man wird hören, ob sie Ja sagen. 'Niemand kann zween Herren dienen'—am wenigsten dann, wenn jeder einen ganzen Mann fordert, und zu einer Zeit, wo die grössten Entdeckungen auf und in dem Boden Asiens die Theilnahme aller Gebildeten in Anspruch nehmen, wo eine deutsch morgenländischen Gesellschaft einheitliches Zusammenwirken nach höhern Zielen in unsern Orientalismus zu bringen angefangen hat, wo zahlreiche deutsche Orientalisten im nähern und gern im Auslande den alten Ruhm vaterländischer Geistestüchtigkeit und Gelehrsamkeit befestigen und vermehren; zu seiner solchen Zeit wollte eine deutsche Universität das betreffende Lehrfach seiner Selbständikeit berauben, wollte die an und für sich beschränkten Aussichten unserer jüngern Orientalisten auf ein würdiges Ziel und eine endliche Belohnung ihrer Anstrengungen noch mehr verkürzen? Besitzt eine Universität, die in Gefahr ist, einen solchen Fehlgriff zu thun, unter ihren Philologen und Theologen Männer, welche wissen, worum es sich handelt, so liegt gerade ihnen—wir sprechen es offen aus—die Pflicht ob, mit einem Videant consules hervorzutreten ... Man bringe den rechten Mann für dieses Lehrfach an die rechte Stelle, aber ganz und ungetheilt, und bald wird er, auch auf einer kleinen Universität, sich einen Wirkungskreis schaffen und einzelne Berufene an sich ziehen, um sie nicht bloss in alter Weise durch 'Rudimenta' und 'Elementa' in den Vorhof, sondern durch fortgesetzten Unterricht auch in das Innere der Wissenschaft einzuführen und zu ihrem Weiterbau heranzubilden.*"

50 India was usually not referred to as "East Asia," and I could not find other examples for the use of the term "West Asia" at the time. Fleischer even admits his unconventional use of terminology.

51 For example, Paul Kahle, who was *ordinarius* and director of the institute at Bonn since 1923, was as director of the institute concerned with the promotion of the study of China and Japan (Kahle 1998: 137–43).

52 Fleischer, who is said to have taught an extraordinarily large number of students, had 322 students in the course of 54 years (Mangold 2004: 94–95). Students would usually not stay for an entire course of three years at the same university, and it was usually enough to have studied with a teacher for a year to be considered as one of his students. If one assumes that Fleischer's students stayed for two years on average, this means he had twelve students per year. If divided into two groups of six students each, they would fit easily into a private living room, which every *ordinarius* could be expected to have.

53 For a very nice description, how Georg Jacob fulfilled that task at the institute at Kiel: Dammann 1987.

6 The emergence of Assyriology

1 Mangold states: "*Auf die inhaltliche, personelle, methodische und institutionelle Entwicklung beider orientalistischen Fächer* [i.e. Indian studies and Assyriology] *kann hier nicht eingegangen werden*" (2004: 103 n. 500).

2 The *DOG* was officially founded in 1898. It began as an association of private patrons, comprising highly prominent members of Prussia's political and financial elite, but it quickly (by 1909) became "a holding company for the *Reich*'s cultural investment in the Ottoman Empire" (Marchand 1996: 196).
3 Of the printed version, some 60,000 copies had been sold by 1905 (Marchand 1996: 224). On the entire affair, see also Lehmann 1994.
4 "While classicists could generally find jobs in the *Gymnasium*, orientalists had little future outside the universities' theological faculties" (Marchand 1996: 189).
5 This becomes particularly apparent by comparison to Vienna (Appendix 3), where chairs tailored to the personal interests of the individual scholars appointed to them were formally created as sub-disciplines, and quite often vanished again, when these scholars retired or died.
6 Even the extremely radical approach of Paul de Lagarde, which met with strong opposition, did not cross that line.
7 Beginning with his *Leben Jesu* (1835), David Friedrich Strauss (1808–74) had tried to prove that gospels contained myths rather than historical facts. Bruno Bauer (1809–82) went a step further and denied the historical existence of Jesus. Both of them lost their positions at the university. This did not settle the controversy, however. The rise of Palestine studies gives an indication that historicity was perceived as an issue at the time. In 1877, that field of interest found its institutional expression in the German-Palestine association (*Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung von Palästina/DVP*), which explicitly limited its research to subjects connected with Biblical studies. On the *DVP*, see Mangold 2004: 221–23. On the development of Palestine studies during the nineteenth century: Goren 2003.
8 "*Etwa in dem Jahrzehnt for dem Weltkrieg tritt nun die beherrschende Stellung des Alten Testaments wenigstens in der deutschen Assyriologie zurück, und die letztere wird in höherem Masse Selbstzweck*" (Friedrich 1944: 61).
9 "*eine populäre Episode in dem grossen geistigen Ringen der Wissenschaft um die Wiederentdeckung des alten Orients*" (cited in Hanisch 2003: 68 n. 220).
10 For a detailed outline, see my presentation in Chapter 4.
11 But, as few new positions were opened until after 1871, and as philologists continued to see archaeology as a subordinate, auxiliary field, rather than as an autonomous equal, archaeology had to await the rise of grand-scale, state-funded excavations and the expansion of the Royal Museums to gain its full measure of academic respectability and social prestige.

(Marchand 1996: 48–49)

12 In total, a sum of 127,000 Taler was granted to Lepsius' project. This was an enormous amount of money. For comparison: the operating budget for the entire New Museum was 58,000 Taler, which was at the time considered to provide a substantial financial basis (Marchand 1996: 70–71).
13 As Appendix 3 shows, another chair was established at Vienna in 1859; and at Göttingen existed a "temporary" chair (1868–70) for Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha; in 1875, a chair was established at Leipzig; other chairs followed only by the turn of the century.
14 Another classical philologist, Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), *ordinarius* at Göttingen since 1819, went on an exploration tour to Greece (1839–40). When collecting inscriptions at Delphi, he had a sunstroke and died (Marchand 1996: 52).
15 Curtius was personally acquainted with several members of the Hohenzollern family; in particular, he was tutor to crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm (Marchand 1996: 78–80).
16 Theodor Wiegand (1837–1918) was Humann's sucessor as head of *DAI* museum operations in Smyrna after 1897 and cultural (*wissenschaftlicher*) attaché to the German Embassy in Istanbul. In 1908, he became director of the sculpture collection at the royal museum in Berlin (Marchand 1996: 202–3).

17 The following are examples of scholarly careers in which regular employment at a museum played a major role: Friedrich Delitzsch (Assyriology), Hermann Ranke (Assyriology/Egyptology), Hans Ehelolf (Assyriology), Arnold Walther (Assyriology), Victor Christian (Assyriology), Fritz Rudolf Kraus (Assyriology); Karl Richard Lepsius (Egyptology), Adolf Erman (Egyptology), Ludwig Borchardt (Egyptology); Karl Dyroff (Egyptology), Georg Steindorff (Egyptology), Günther Roeder (Egyptology), Rudolf Anthes (Egyptology), Alexander Scharff (Egyptology), Ernst Zyhlarz (Egyptology/African studies), Walter Wolf (Egyptology), Hans-Wolfgang Müller (Egyptology); Albert Grünwedel (Indian studies); Lucian Scherman, (Indian studies/ethnology); Ernst Waldschmidt (Indian studies); Friedrich Müller (East Asia); Robert Bleichsteiner (Central Asia); Friedrich Sarre (Islamic art), Otto von Falke (Islamic and Byzantine crafts and art), Ernst Kühnel (Islamic art), Heinrich Glück (Near Eastern art), Martin Schede (Near Eastern art and archaeology), Anton Moortgart (Near Eastern art and archaeology), Kurt Erdmann (Islamic art), Richard Ettinghausen (Islamic art); Joseph Marquart (Armenian and Iranian studies); Bernhard Moritz; Eckhard Unger.

7 Islamic studies: the emergence of a (sub-)discipline?

1 On this underlying assumption, Joseph van Ess' study "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte* in Islamic Studies," which is a brilliant study in intellectual (not political) history, tracing the intellectual traditions on which Becker drew for his concept of the new field, fits into the framework of a conference on *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, organized under the impact of Said's *Orientalism*. Said himself participated in the conference and also contributed his essay "Islam, the Philological Vocation, and French Culture: Renan and Massignon" to the published collection, edited by Malcolm H. Kerr (1980).
2 Mangold lists Ignaz Goldziher, Hermann Guthe, Fritz Hommel, Franz Praetorius, Carl Heinrich Becker, Carl Bezold, Hubert Grimme, Enno Littmann, Eugen Mittwoch, Friedrich Rosen, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Hans Stumme, and Felix Peiser (2004: 279–80; see also Heine 2002).
3 For example, Konrad Bartsch was apparently inspired to write two dissertations; Ernst Zyhlarz (1890–1964) abandoned law to study Semitic languages and Egyptology (Post-Zylharz 1985; Ellinger 2006: 542); Ernst Bannerth (1895–1976), a priest who was inspired by his military service in Iraq to study Oriental languages (Hanisch 2003: 178); Paul Wittek (1894–1978) completed his classical studies after his military service in Palestine (1916–18), but then studied Oriental languages and came to focus on Ottoman history (Kreiser 1979; Schaendlinger 1979; Hanisch 2003: 211; Ellinger 2006: 541); Helmut Ritter (1892–1971), who had served as interpreter for the military in Iraq, Palestine and Istanbul (1916–18), was appointed to a chair of Oriental languages at Hamburg in 1919, without formal *Habilitation* (*DBE* 8: 329; Meier 1972; Plessner 1972; Kahle 1998: 146–47; Lier 1998; Hanisch 2003: 202–3; Ellinger 2006: 518); Erich Bräunlich (1892–1945) began to study Oriental languages at Leipzig, after he had served in the Ottoman empire during the war (Kissling 1950; Fück 1955: 310; Stein 1987: 46; Hanisch 2003: 181; Ellinger 2006: 470). Other examples include Franz Babinger, Gotthelf Bergsträsser, Wilhelm Czermak, Franz Taeschner, Hans Ehelolf, Arthur Schaade, Oskar Rescher, Arnold Nöldeke, Martin Schede, Alois Musil, Ernst Herzfeld, Robert Lachmann, Hubert Grimme, Friedrich Giese, Eugen Mittwoch, Enno Littmann, Karl Süssheim, Edgar Pröbster, Fritz Jäger, Ernst Kühnel, and Curt Prüfer.
4 For example, the interest of "non-scholars" was addressed by a newspaper published for German soldiers in Syria during the last year of the war, *Armee Zeitung Jildirim. Für die in Syrien kämpfenden deutschen Truppen* (Damascus, 1918). Since the early 1920s, the association of German soldiers who had served in Asia published a yearbook and a newsletter, *Zwischen Kaukasus und Sinai. Jahrbuch des Bundes der Asienkämpfer*, and

Mitteilungen des Bundes der Asienkämpfer (Berlin, 1921–29). After the middle of the decade, interest declined and publication eventually ceased. The publication of another periodical, *Der Neue Orient. Halbmonatsschrift für das politisch-wirtschaftliche und geistige Leben im gesamten Osten*, began during the war and continued into the earlier part of the 1920s.

5 After his employment at Leipzig as *extraordinarius* for Islamic studies, R. Hartmann held positions with more "traditional" titles (Semitic languages and/or Oriental studies): at Königsberg (1922–26), Heidelberg (1926–30) and Göttingen (1930–36).

6 This shift can be seen to support Paret's programmatic purpose that has been discussed in the introduction. If Islamic studies are a dominant part of the field, Arabic studies certainly remain essential. By contrast, studying other Semitic languages is not a necessary requirement.

7 Probably due to his focus on Islam, Paret does not mention the influence of Nöldeke's teacher, Heinrich Ewald.

8 It may be noteworthy that Josef van Ess has clearly shown that properly-speaking Wellhausen was not a representative of German Oriental studies, but rather a theologian. After his work in Biblical studies (*Prologomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 1882) met with major opposition, he lost his chair at Greifswald and had to look for alternative employment. For want of any alternative, he accepted a position as *extraordinarius* of Semitic languages at Halle. This certainly required him to redirect his research, but he was not willing to abandon his main interest: the history of the Israelites, as is attested by his move to the chair at Göttingen, which Ewald once held, after he had already been appointed to a chair at Marburg. Two concepts prevailing at the time allowed combining both tasks. One was the concept of the *Urgestalt* (the original form), according to which the essence of any human formation was most clearly discernible at the beginning, before any modifications could obscure it. The other was provided by geography. First pioneered by Carl Ritter, who held the first chair in geography (at Berlin, since 1825), historical geography had developed a concept of environmental determinism, which held human culture to be shaped by the environment. This concept, which was probably meant to establish geography's relevance for the humanities, provided Wellhausen with an option to pursue his interests in Biblical studies outside the domain of theologians. Thus he embarked on studying the history of Arab tribal society in the early Islamic period, in pursuit of new insights to the history of the Israelites, whom he thought to have lived under very similar conditions (van Ess 1980: 40–42).

9 Since Johansen does not discuss any specific works in Islamic studies as he defines the field, one cannot be certain, but it seems rather likely that quite a number of the studies, which Paret categorizes as Islamic studies, would be excluded by Johansen.

10 Troeltsch was a Protestant theologian, who is credited with formulating the conceptual foundations for historical social sciences and historical cultural studies.

11 Johansen sees Islamic studies as "a European trend that had first won official recognition in France [...] The works of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) in Hungary, C. Snouck-Hourgronje (1857–1936) in the Netherlands, David Santillana (1855–1913) in Italy, Martin Hartmann (1851–1918) and C.H. Becker (1876–1933) in Germany laid the basis for this new approach to the history and culture of the Orient" (1990: 88).

12 The "new discipline" of Islamic studies is said to have legitimized the study of the contemporary Near East and due to its stress on cultural history to have furthered the interest in the history of philosophy and science of Islam (Johansen 1990: 89). At least with regard to the history of science, Johansen's view seems rather questionable, considering that the pioneers in the field were actually scientists interested in the history of their discipline. For example, Eilhard Wiedemann, Siegmund Günther, Julius Hirschberg, Karl Sudhoff, Edmund Oskar von Lippmann, Max Meyerhof, Ernst Seidel, Josef Frank, Fritz Hauser, Ernst Darmstädter. As mentioned, Julius Ruska was exceptional: he studied mathematics and physics, became a science teacher at a high school. Later he studied Semitic languages and embarked on his university career.

13 "*ähnlich wie in anderen geisteswissenschaftlichen Fächern verbreitete sich auch unter den Orientalisten ein krisenhaftes Modernitätsbewusstsein*"; "*Vergleichbar der Geschichtswissenschaft entwickelte am Rande der traditionellen Orientalistik eine Gruppe von Gelehrten ein kulturelles Krisenbewusstsein*" (Mangold 2004: 255).

14 The dissertation was in Latin: *De origine et compositione Surarum qoranicarum ipsiusque Qorani*. The first German version comprised three parts: *Geschichte des Qorans*, 3 vols. (1860). A second revised edition was published between 1909 and 1938. Friedrich Schwally undertook the revisions of the first and second volumes, published in 1909 and 1919, while Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl revised the third part (1926–38).

15 For example, David Heinrich Müller (1846–1912), Jacob Barth (1851–1914), Hartwig Hirschfeld (1854–1934), and Friedrich Giese.

16 Hardly any scholars in Oriental studies seem to have gone on their own to the Middle East. I found two cases, in which traveling was mentioned without reference to a sponsor or an institutional framework. Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici (1821–1903) and Laurenz Reinke, Junior (b. 1829). The latter may have traveled in some missionary function (Heine 1974: 13–14). In a few cases, traveling for scholarly purposes occurred with the ruler's permission and funding. For example, Marcus Müller wanted to travel to the Middle East, but was allowed only one trip to Spain (Babinger 1957: 246–53); in pursuit of finds in Egyptology, the Prussian king sponsored Karl Richard Lepsius and Heinrich Brugsch (1827–94) (for the latter: *DBE* 2: 163; *NDB* 2 1953: 667–68; Preissler 1995: 316; Goren 2003: 169, 172–74); and the Austrian Archduke sponsored Leo Reinisch (1832–1919). In the other cases found, scholars worked in non-academic institutions, which enabled them to travel. Julius Heinrich Petermann (1801–76) (*NDB* 20: 238; Goren 2003: 209–14) and Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905) were in Prussian consular service; Gustav Weil went with the French army to Algiers in 1830, then he moved to Cairo, where he worked as a French teacher (1831–35), and on his way back to Europe he visited Istanbul. A number of scholars were able to travel, while working for the British colonial administration, as for example, Aloys Sprenger, Martin Haug (1827–76), Georg Bühler (1837–98), Ernst Trumpp (1828–85), Franz Kielhorn (1840–1908).

17 Among scholars specializing in the Middle East studies, Albert Socin (1844–99) and Eugen Prym (1843–1913) were the first ones to travel (1868–70); in the 1870s Ignaz Goldziher, Wilhelm Spitta (1853–83), David Heinrich Müller, Otto Loth (1844–81), and Eduard Sachau (1845–1930), who was already *ordinarius* at the time, followed. In the 1880s: Karl Vollers (1857–1909) and Julius Euting (1839–1913); in the 1890s: Carl Brockelmann, Alois Musil (1868–1944), August Haffner (1869–1941), August Fischer, Max Horten (1874–1945), Joseph Hell (1875–1950), Enno Littmann (1875–1958), Bruno Meissner (1868–1947), and Friedrich Giese; in the 1900s: Carl Heinrich Becker, Jean-Jacques Hess (1866–1949), Georg Kampffmeyer, Karl Süssheim, Paul Kahle (1875–1964), Josef Horovitz (1874–1931), Nikolaus Rhodokanakis (1876–1945), Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), Hubert Grimme (1864–1942), and Oskar Mann (1867–1917); between 1910 and 1914: Oskar Rescher (1883–1972), Hans Bauer (1878–1937), Franz Taeschner (1888–1967), Arthur Schaade (1883–1952), Gotthelf Bergsträsser, and Adolf Grohmann (1887–1977).

18 The concept of Hellenism was first introduced by Johann Gustav Droysen in his *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (1836–43).

19 For example at Kiel, Hermann Oldenberg was *ordinarius* for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics. In 1908, Heinrich Lüders succeeded him as *ordinarius* of Indian studies.

20 At Halle, Theodor Zachariae was *extraordinarius* for comparative linguistics (1890–95), he later became *extraordinarius* for Indian studies (1895–1921). In 1896, Friedrich Bechtel became *ordinarius* for Indo-European languages. In addition, Eugen Hultzsch succeeded Richard Pischel as *ordinarius* for Indian studies (1903–27). At Vienna, Paul Kretschmer held the chair for Indo-European languages and comparative linguistics

(1899–1936). In 1909, Bernhard Geiger became lecturer in Indian and Iranian studies, and was promoted to *extraordinarius* in 1919.

21 In 1905, the University of Munich established an institute for Oriental studies which consisted of two chairs: One for Semitic philology, held by Fritz Hommel; and the other for Aryan philology, held by Ernst Kuhn. The arrangement ended already in 1909, when a separate institute for Aryan philology was established.

22 Karl Emil Schwabinger Freiherr von Schowingen (1877–1967) is also characterized by Hagen as "jurist, diplomat, and dilettante Orientalist" (2004: 148); for a short biography see Ellinger (2006: 522).

23 The argument here is not meant to deny that "proper" scholars participated in various functions in the war. They certainly did (e.g., Heine 1984; Hanisch 1992a, 1992b, 2003: 78–84; Höpp 1996; Hagen 2004: 150–51).

24 The delineation of Georg Jacob's chair at Kiel in 1911 (see Appendix 3) may have been an early example of that trend.

25 The controversy between Fleischer and Hammer-Purgstall in 1835 may not only have been a clash between the "professional scholar" and the "dilettante", as Mangold holds (2004: 79–82). It also can be seen as vital step in the process of sidelining Ottoman-Turkish studies, of which Hammer was the leading representative.

8 The primacy of political factors: 1933–45

1 The decreed dismissal of all women from civil-service positions had little effect on the university personnel, because very few women were university teachers (Pauwels 1984).

2 Baumstark was an active Nazi, but he was forced to take early retirement due to rumors concerning his homosexual tendencies.

3 He was dismissed: 1933–35.

4 Kowalski could be released from the concentration camp Sachsenhausen due to an intervention by colleagues at the Prussian academy of sciences (Ellinger 2006: 68–70)

5 Lewy committed suicide (Hanisch 2003: 196; Wassermann 2003: 216).

6 Menzel had good relations with the NS regime, but the disagreement over a second chair in Kiel ended with his forced retirement (Ellinger 2006: 156–57).

7 He was dismissed: 1933–39 (Hanisch 2003: 211).

8 "*die Ortsgruppe der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, die Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, die Altorientalische Gesellschaft, die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, die Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst und ... Verband für den fernen Orient*" (Schaeder 1935: vii).

9 Littmann's account (1942) was published in a series on *Der deutsche Beitrag zur Gestaltung und Erforschung der englischen Kultur* (the German contribution to the formation and study of English culture).

10 Fück was appointed to the chair of Oriental studies one year before Wilhelm Printz was promoted to *ordinarius* of Indian studies.

11 The latter was subdivided into two sections: Germanic and Indo-Germanic peoples (organized by Hans Heinrich Schaeder); and Indo-Germanic peoples and others (organized by Heinrich Junker).

12 "*Viele zweckgebundene, rassistische, weltanschauliche und politische Details der wissenschaftlichen Texte – auch wenn sie vordergründig nur philologisch ausgerichtet sind – erschliessen sich [...] erst im Kontext der weltanschaulich ausgerichteten deutschen Nahostpolitik sowie der Kriegspläne und -führung.*"

13 Paul Kahle gives a slightly different account of the negotiations concerning the new institute at Berlin. According to his account, he negotiated with Heinrich Vahlen, head of the academic desk (*Amt für Wissenschaft*) at the ministry of education (1934–37). Kahle does not mention Hinz. The plan was dropped because Kahle declined the offer in October 1935 (1998: 148–50).

14 "*Die Art, in der die ersten Nazi-Beamten alles, was mit Orientalistikstudien in Deutschland verbunden war, behandelten, beunruhigten mich etwas. Sie waren antisemitisch und betrachteten alle, die aus dem Orient kamen, als Juden. Sie waren oft sehr überrascht, wenn ihnen gesagt wurde, dass es viele nichtjüdische Orientalen gebe, und dass es im übrigen einen Unterschied gebe zwischen Orientalen und Orientalisten.*"

15 In 1941, Kahle's wife, Maria, wrote an account of the events, an English translation of which was published privately in 1945. The German text, edited by one of the sons, John H. Kahle, and Wilhelm Bleek was published more than half a century later, together with Paul Kahle's report of 1942 (Kahle 1998).

9 Conclusion

1 *Wodurch wird einer Orientalist? Bei den meisten, die es geworden sind, lässt sich ein Gemeinsames festellen: eine überdurchschnittliche Leichtigkeit der Sprachaneignung und eine Neigung zum Sprachenlernen, die frühzeitig über die in der Schule gelehrten Sprachen hinausgreift. Viel seltener geschieht es, dass jemand von vornherein von bestimmten geschichtlichen Fragestellungen—geschichtlich im weitesten Sinn genommen—in den Orient geführt wird und das schwierige Sprachstudium als Mittel zum Zweck auf sich nimmt, ohne die Hoffnung, es dem Sprachvirtuosen gleich zu tun. Dabei sagt dessen Virtuosität schlechterdings nichts über seine geistige Gesamtausrüstung und ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit aus: vom Kardinal Mezzofanti hiess es, er verstehe einige vierzig Sprachen, habe aber in keiner von ihnen etwas zu sagen. Für den Sprachkenner kommt es darauf an, dass er seine Fähigkeit nicht zum Selbstzweck entarten lässt; er soll sie als Werkzeug zur Sichtbarmachung und Aneignung geistiger Werte verwenden, die seine Arbeit und damit ihn selbst zu etwas Ganzem und Vollständigen machen.*

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Index

Abdül Hamid II (Ottoman Empire) 148
Abegg, E. 287
Abel, K. v. 112
Abel, L. 249
Adorno, T. 11
Ahlwardt, W. 118, 131, 230, 256, 299 n.14, 301 n.32
Alsdorf, L. 278, 289
Alt, A. 81, 233
Altaner, B. 188
Althoff, F. 148
Andrae, W. 161
Andreas, F. C. 253, 288
Anhegger, R. 188
Anthes, R. 188, 305 n.17
Ascherson, P. 230, 294 n.12
Atiya, A. S. 244
Aufrecht, T. 143, 239, 245, 297 n.25, 299 n.13, 301 n.33

Babinger, F. 1, 165–8, 188, 190–1, 201–2, 205, 225, 237, 275, 288, 305 n.3
Bacher, W. 224, 294 n.8
Bannerth, E.t 305 n.3
Banse, E. 224, 294 n.12
Bargebuhr, F. P. 188
Barth, H. 233, 242, 294 n.12, n.13
Barth, J. 225, 236, 307 n.15
Barthold, W. W. 232
Bartholomae, F. C. 252, 259, 263, 278
Bartsch, Ka. 142
Bartsch, Ko. 305 n.3
Baudissin, W. W. C. 129
Bauer, B. 124, 304 n.7
Bauer, H. 227, 258, 300 n.18, 307 n.17
Bauer, L. 230, 294 n.11
Bauer, T. 247, 274, 286
Baumgarten, M. 22, 89
Baumstark, A. 188, 225, 243, 262, 277, 307 n.17, 308 n.2
Baur, F. C. 124, 126
Bechtel, F. 255, 259, 308 n.20
Beck, S. 207, 288–9
Becker, C. H. 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 35, 71, 152, 164, 166–8, 170–7, 179–83, 197, 216, 223, 237, 243, 260, 262, 300 n.20, 305 n.1, n.2, 306 n.11, 307 n.17
Beckh, H. 240
Bekker, A. I. 106, 120
Ben-David, J. 20, 27, 45, 293 n.14
Benfey, T. 118, 122–3, 254, 295 n.6, 296 n.12, 297 n.25, 298 n.43, 301 n.33
Benzing, J. 204
Beránek, K. 4
Berchem, M. v. 233
Bergsträsser, G. 167–8, 194, 225, 236, 246, 262, 268, 274, 300 n.27, 305 n.3, 307 n.14, n.17
Bernstein, G. H. 103, 143, 235, 246, 264, 295 n.4, n.6, 297 n.27, 298 n.43, 299 n.12, n.14
Bertheau, E. 122, 139, 252, 299 n.14
Bezold, C. 147, 151, 170, 182, 262, 305 n.2
Bickell, G. 128, 143, 263, 277
Bismarck, O. v. 147
Bissing, F. V. 275
Bittner, M. 229, 283
Björkman, W. 205, 207, 227, 260, 288, 289
Blanckenhorn, M. 229, 294 n.12
Blau, O. 228, 294 n.17
Bleek, W. 309 n.15
Bleichsteiner, R. 285, 305 n.17
Bode, W. v. 157
Boeckh, A. 59,104–7, 115, 119, 120, 153, 297 n.24, n.28, n.29, n.30
Bohlen, P. v. 131, 267, 296 n.12, 298 n.43, 300 n.17

Bolland, W. 237
Boller, A. 91, 118, 285, 296 n.12, 297 n.25
Bonné, A. 233, 294 n.16
Bonnet, H. 245
Bopp, F. 90, 96, 102, 115, 121, 140, 235, 239, 295 n.4, n.6, 296 n.8, 297 n.25, n.34, 298 n.1, n.43, 299 n. 12, n. 14
Borchardt, L. 305 n.17
Bourdieu, P. 22, 52
Bratuscheck, E. 105
Braune, W. 194, 205, 207, 289
Bräunlich, E. 190, 191, 196, 205, 232, 257, 268, 270, 305 n.3
Bravmann, M. M. M. 188
Brehm, A. E. 230, 294 n.12
Breloer, B. 240
Brockelmann, C. 132, 145, 168, 183, 198, 224, 237, 246, 258, 267, 288, 295 n.18, 307 n.17, 300 n.27, 307 n.17
Brockhaus, H. 92, 134, 136, 139, 265, 271, 295 n.4, n.6, 297 n.25, 298 n.1, n.43,
Brugsch, H. 227, 254, 294 n.15, 304 n.13, 307 n.16
Brüning, H. 54
Brunn, H. 158–9
Brunnhofer, H. 300 n.25
Brünnow, R. E. 234, 262
Buhl, F. 233, 300 n.19
Bühler, G. 286, 301 n.33, 307 n.16
Bulmerincq, A. M. K. v. 248, 300 n.20
Bursian, C. 107
Burton, R. F. 234, 295 n.20

Canaan, T. 232, 294 n.11
Capeller, C. 265, 299 n.13, 300 n.25
Cartellieri, W. 264
Caskel, W. 188, 196, 229, 237, 248, 257, 280, 300 n.22
Christian, V. 168–9, 194–5, 203, 283–4, 305 n.17
Collins, R. 26, 40
Conrady, A. 272
Conze, A. 158–60, 162
Creutzer, 120
Curtius, E. 120, 155–6, 305 n.15
Czermak, W. 284, 305 n.3

Dalman, H. G. 81, 224, 257
Darmstädter, E. 307 n.12
Daumas, E. 233, 295 n.20
de Goeje, M. J. 178, 228
de Groot, 241
de Lagarde, P. A. 125, 128, 129, 253, 299 n.5, 304 n.6
de Wette, W. M. L. 113, 298 n.41
Deeters, G. 245
Delbrück, B. 265, 299 n.13, 300 n.25
Delitzsch, F. J. 131, 151, 232, 294 n.9, 298 n.42, n.43
Delitzsch, F. 146, 149–52, 160, 162, 237, 247, 270, 305 n.17
Diels, H.160
Diercks, G. 227
Dieterici, F. H. 150, 226, 236, 296 n.12, 298 n.43, 300 n.18, 307 n.16
Dietrich, F. 272, 295 n.8, 299 n.11
Dietz, E. 230, 285, 294 n.6
Dillmann, A. 15, 266, 296 n.12, 298 n.4, n.43
Djaït, H. 290 n.3
Dorn, B. 224
Droysen, J. G. 21, 297 n.23, 308 n.18
Duda, H. W. 168, 169, 198, 205, 247, 270, 285
Dümichen, J. 280
Dunkel, F. 226, 294 n.11
Dvořák, R. 278
Dyroff, K. 275, 300 n.27, 305 n.17

Eberhard, O. 232, 294 n.11
Ebers, G. M. 161, 265, 271
Ecker, J. 277
Ehelolf, H. 195, 241, 305 n.17, 305 n.3
Eichhorn, J. G. 99, 109, 110, 123
Eichhorn, W. 250, 255
Elias, N. 11
Ellenberg, H. 198, 265
Ellinger, E. 17–18, 35, 37, 185, 187–97, 200–4, 206, 207, 217, 220,
Erdmann, F. v. 230, 294 n.7
Erdmann, K. 226, 238, 294 n.6, 305 n.17
Erman, A. 132, 160, 188, 234, 239, 294 n.15, 305 n.17
Ernesti, J. A. 98
Ethé, H. 274, 301 n.33
Ettinghausen, R. 188, 305 n.17
Euler, K. F. 252
Euting, J. 131, 231, 280, 300 n.18, 307 n.17
Ewald, H. 14, 15, 88, 92, 99, 110, 112, 114, 122, 124–6, 128, 129, 135–7, 139, 177, 228, 253, 281, 291 n.9, 295 n.6, 296 n.8, n.12, n.15, 297 n.34, 298 n.39, n.43, 299 n.14, 300 n.23, n.24, 306 n.7, n.8

Falke, O. V. 305 n.17
Falkenstein, A. 195, 196, 205, 238, 254, 274
Fallersleben, H. V. 102–3
Fallmerayer, J. P. 111

Fell, W, 129, 277
Ferber, C. v. 20
Feuerbach, Ludwig 124
Fischer, A. 78, 174, 183, 190, 207, 223, 236, 269, 288, 291 n.9, 300 n.19; 307 n.17
Fischer, H. A. 268
Fischer, T.226, 294 n.12, n.13
Fitzner, R. 228, 294 n.14
Fleischer. H. L. 11, 14, 15, 27, 79, 87, 92, 93, 115, 116, 119, 130, 133, 134, 136, 139, 140, 141, 146, 183, 224, 269, 290 n.8, n.9, 291 n.9, 295 n.4, 296 n.15, 297 n.34, 298 n.1, n.43, 299 n.7, n.14, 300 n.17, n.24, 301 n.34, 303 n.50, n.52, 308 n.25
Fleischmann, P. 234, 294 n.11
Flügel, G. L. 93, 131, 225, 295 n.4, 300 n.17, n.24,
Forke, A. 261
Forrer, E. O.195, 241
Foy, K. 288
Fraenkel, S. 226, 246
Frähn, C. 224, 294 n.7
Francke, H. 240
Frank, C. 238, 273, 280, 288
Frank, J. 307 n.12
Frank, O. 90, 111, 112, 274, 286, 295 n.8, 298 n.43
Franke, O. 181, 241, 261, 268
Freimann, A. 188
Freytag, G. W. F. 87, 92, 93, 243, 295 n.4, 298 n.1, n.43, 299 n.14, 300 n.17
Friedländer, I. S. 231, 280, 294 n.8
Friedrich Wilhelm III. (Prussia) 39, 153, 305 n.15
Friedrich, J. 152, 194, 271
Frobenius, L. 230, 294 n.12
Froehner, R. 80, 230
Fück, J. 4–6, 11, 37, 83, 86, 87, 90, 92, 93, 113, 115, 149, 170–2, 178, 193, 196, 198, 217, 229, 250, 258, 292 n.1, 293 n.16, 299 n.7, n.8, 308 n.10
Fürst, J. 269, 298 n.3

Gabain, A. v. 204, 241
Gabelentz, G. v. d. 272
Gabelentz, H. C. v. d. 134, 136
Garbe, R. v. 144, 268, 282
Garbers, K. 194, 205, 242, 272
Gatt, G. 227, 294 n.11
Geiger, A. 171
Geiger, B. 188. 286, 308 n.20
Geiger, W. 144, 249, 276, 300 n.25
Geldner, K. 240, 259, 273
George I (Greece) 156
Gesner, J. M. 98
Geyer, R. E. 132, 168, 226, 283
Gibbon, E. 101
Giese, F. 166–9, 198, 247, 256, 288, 300 n.20, n.21, n. 27, 306 n.3, 307 n.15, n.17
Gildemeister, J. G. 128, 131, 229, 243, 273, 295 n.6, n.8, 296 n.10, n.12, 298 n.43, 298/9 n.4
Glasenapp, H. v. 268, 283
Glaser, E. 82, 179, 224, 301 n.29
Glück, H. 234, 285, 294 n.6, 305 n.17
Goethe, J.W. 92, 96, 98
Goldschmidt, E. D. 188
Goldschmidt, S. 281
Goldziher, I. 1, 2, 6, 35, 79, 81, 170, 171, 174–8, 182, 191, 216, 223, 301 n.29, 305 n.2, 306 n.11, 307 n.17
Goren, H. 90
Gosche, R. 131, 236, 258, 291 n.9, 299 n.4
Gotthard, H. 237
Gottschalk, H. L. 188, 284
Gottschalk, W. 188
Götze, A. 188, 195, 262, 273
Grabmann, M. 234, 294 n.10
Gräf, E. 204
Graf, G. 81, 224, 276, 300 n.18
Graf, K. H. 128, 300 n.24
Grapow, H. 239
Gratzl, E. 132
Grimme, H. 225, 251, 277, 300 n.27, 305 n.2, 306 n.3, 307 n.17
Grohmann , A. 225, 264, 278, 283, 307 n.17
Grothe-Harkányi, H. 226, 294 n.12
Grube, W. 241
Grunebaum, G. v. 188
Grünert, M. 229, 278
Grünwedel, A. 305 n.17
Gumprecht, T. E. 234, 294 n.14
Günther, S. 232, 294 n.12, 307 n.12
Güterbock, H. G. 188, 195
Guthe, H. 81, 182, 228, 305 n.2
Guttmann, J. 232, 294 n.8
Guttmann, J. Y. 188
Guyer, H. J. S. 300 n.18

Haenisch, E. 241, 255, 272, 276
Haffner, A. 264, 300 n.18, 307 n.17
Hagen, G. 182, 308 n.22
Haloun, G. 188, 198, 241, 244, 245, 255, 259, 279. 293 n.16
Hammer-Purgstall, J. v. 1, 2, 84, 91, 92, 183, 223, 295 n.3, 301 n.34, 308 n.25
Haneberg, D. B. v. 231. 294 n.9, 298 n.42, n.43

Hanisch, L. 13, 14, 18, 35–7, 90, 93, 94, 104, 105, 108, 119, 120, 123, 128, 133, 142, 144, 149, 175, 185, 187, 189, 191–6, 200–2, 205, 207, 217, 193, 194, 292 n.1
Hansal, M. L. 232, 294 n.17
Hansen, O. 241
Haridi, A. 12, 13, 173, 197
Hartmann, M. 6, 12, 36, 79, 166, 170–9, 182, 216, 220, 223, 288, 300 n.19, 306 n.11
Hartmann, R, 12, 132, 165, 166, 168, 173, 176, 192–4, 198, 203–6, 223, 237, 253, 262, 266, 268, 270, 300 n.18, 306 n.5
Hartner, W. 250
Haschmi, M. Y. 288
Hauer, E. 241
Hauer, W. 273, 283
Haug, M. 118, 142, 275, 307 n.16
Hauser, F. 307 n.12
Hausherr, J. 287
Heepe, M. 288, 289
Heffening, W. 194, 198, 230, 244, 293 n.16
Hegel, G. W. F. 124
Heine, P. 9
Helfritz, H. 83, 229, 294 n.14
Hell, J. 227, 249, 307 n.17
Heller, L. 257, 301 n.33
Hennig, R. 226, 294 n.12, n.13
Henning, W. B. 188
Henninger, J. 188, 230, 294 n.12
Hentze, C. 250
Herbig, G. 247, 276, 280
Herder, J. G. 96, 98
Hermann, G. 59, 104–6, 115, 116, 119, 136, 153, 297 n.28, n.30
Hertel, J. 271
Herzfeld, E. E. 188, 225, 238, 306 n.3
Herzog, R. 6, 104
Hess, J. J. 228, 287, 307 n.17
Heuglin, M. T. v. 229, 294 n.14
Heyd, W. v. 300 n.28
Heyne, C. G. 97, 98
Hickmann, H. 188
Hilgenfeld, H. 198, 265, 300 n.26
Hillebrandt, A. 247
Himmler, H. 203, 206
Hinz, W. 190, 191, 201, 202, 205, 207, 241, 253, 309 n.13
Hirsch, E. E. 188
Hirschberg, J. 80, 229, 242, 243, 307 n.12
Hirschfeld, H. 234, 307 n.15
Hitler, A. 191, 206, 208, 209
Hitzig, F. 287, 298 n.43
Hodgson, M. 99
Hoefer, A. 257, 295 n.6, 296 n.12, 297 n.25, 298 n.43, 299 n.13, 301 n.33
Hoenerbach, W. 193
Hoffmann, G. 166, 266
Höfner, M. 230, 282, 284
Hölscher, G. 188, 300 n.20
Holtzmann, A. 142, 251, 263, 299 n.11
Hommel, F. 131,144, 147, 149, 151, 167, 182, 225, 274, 305 n.2, 308 n.21
Honigmann, E. 188
Hoppe, F. 232, 294 n.11
Horovitz, J. 224, 236, 250, 307 n.17
Horovitz, S. 232, 294 n.8
Horten, M. 194, 224, 243, 246, 307 n.17
Hourani, A. 8
Hrozný, B. 279
Hüber, R. 228, 294 n.16
Hübner, M. 83, 228, 294 n.16
Hultzsch, E. 259, 301 n.33, 308 n.20
Humann, C. 157, 305 n.16
Humboldt, W. v. 13, 39–41, 43, 57, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 115, 120, 153, 292 n.1, 295 n.1, 296 n.22
Hupfeld, H. C. 272
Hüsing, G. 283

Idris, 'A. 204
Irving, W. 232, 295 n.20
Italiaander, R. 188

Jacob, G. 64, 132, 165, 166, 194, 224, 249, 266, 300 n.18, 304 n.53, 308 n.24
Jacobi, H. 245, 266, 278, 301 n.29
Jäger, F. 242, 306 n.3
Jahn, G. 267
Jahn, K. 278
Jansky, H. 169, 204, 285
Jäschke, G. 84, 205, 207, 208, 232, 277, 289
Jensen, P. 147, 151, 273
Johansen, B. 10, 11, 14, 27, 37, 79, 84, 89–91, 93, 115, 116, 149, 172–4, 185, 186, 196, 199–202, 207, 209, 217, 292 n.1, 299 n.7, n.8, n.10, 306 n.9, n.11, 307 n.12
Jolly, J. 286
Jones, W. 87, 96, 102
Junker, Hein. 308 n.11
Junker, H. 284, 300 n.18

Kahle, J. H. 309 n.15
Kahle, M. 309 n.15
Kahle, P.E. 64, 81, 125, 188, 190, 191, 193, 198, 201, 208, 209, 225, 243, 252, 258, 300 n.20, n.21, n.27, 303 n.51, 307 n.17, 309 n.13, n.15

Kampffmeyer, G. 132, 166, 174, 182, 206, 229, 258, 288, 300 n.19, 307 n.17
Kant, I. 42, 94, 96, 97, 106
Karabaček, J. v. 132, 143, 224, 284, 301 n.29
Karge, P. 278
Kaufmann, D. 228, 294 n.8
Kaup, W. B. 237, 250
Kees, H. 254
Kerr, M. H. 305 n.1
Kielhorn, F. 255, 307 n.16
Kiepert, H. 227, 242, 294 n.12
Kirfel, W. 245
Kissling, H. J. 270
Kistenmaker, J. H. 276, 296 n.9, 298 n.43
Kittel, G. 203
Klein, H. 188
Klingenheben, A. 261, 270, 300 n.18
Klingmüller, E. 84, 206, 232
Klippel, E. 231, 294 n.15
Klunzinger, C. B. 231, 294 n.12, n.13
Kobelt, W. 231, 294 n.12
Kocka, J. 21
Kofler, H. 169, 264, 284
Kohler, J. 80, 229, 242
Kohn, H. 83, 228, 294 n.16
Koldewey, R. 160
König, F. 284
Königsberg, H. K. A. v. 90
Konow, S. 181, 261
Koschaker, P. 242, 250, 264, 272, 279, 283
Kosegarten, J. G. L. 92, 131, 256, 264, 295 n.4, 298 n.43, 299 n.14, 300 n.17, 301 n.34
Koselleck, R. 98, 100, 211
Košut, 278
Kotschy, T. 234, 294 n.7
Kowalski, T, 188, 308 n.4
Kraelitz, F. 169, 285
Kraemer, J. L. 189
Kraemer, J. 12, 173
Kratschkowski, I. 233
Kraus, F. R. 188, 195, 305 n.17
Kraus, P. 188, 189, 194, 242
Krehl, L. 131, 143, 233, 269
Kreiser, K. 208
Kremer, A. v. 6, 84, 175, 171, 224, 300 n.29
Krenkow, F. 188, 244
Kretschmer, P. 273, 286, 308 n.20
Kroner, H. 232, 294 n.8
Krückmann, O. 205, 251, 265, 275
Kuhn, A. 297 n.25, 299 n.13, 300 n.24
Kuhn, E. 263, 271, 275, 308 n.21
Kuhn, K. G. 203
Kuhn, T. 20
Kühnel, E. 80, 223, 238, 294 n.6, 305 n.17, 306 n.3
Künstlinger, D. 228

Lachmann, R. 80, 188, 231, 306 n.3
Lamprecht, K. 175
Landauer, S. 132, 280
Landsberger, B. 188, 190, 194, 195, 271, 273
Lane, E. W. 16, 92
Lassen, C. 121, 139, 143, 245, 295 n.4, n.6, 298 n.1, n.43
Lebrecht, F. 228, 294 n.8
Lefmann, S. 263
Lehmann–Haupt, C. F. 238, 264
Lentz, W. 188
Lenz, O. 227, 294 n.12, n.13
Lepenies, W. 25, 27
Lepsius, K. R. 89, 142, 154, 155, 161, 214, 239, 297 n.33, 298 n.2, n.43, 304 n.12, 305 n.17, 307 n.16
Lessing, G. E. 98
Leumann, E. 251, 281
Levi Della Vida, G. 9-10
Levy, K. 188
Lewy, J. 188, 195, 252, 308 n.5
Lichtenstadter, I. 188
Lidzbarski, M. 231, 253, 256, 266
Liebich, B. 247, 263
Lindl, E. 300 n.20
Lippert, J. 132, 288
Lippmann, E. O. v. 80, 226, 259, 307 n.12
Littmann, E. 78, 145, 190–2, 203, 223, 243, 253, 280, 282, 291 n.11, 300 n.20, 305 n.2, 306 n.3, 307 n.17, 308 n.9
Lommel, H. 250
Lorsbach, G. W. 264, 297/8 n.36
Loth, O. 131, 269, 307 n.17
Louis II. (Hesse-Darmstadt) 139
Löwe, H. E. 188
Lüders, H. 188, 240, 267, 280, 301 n.33, 308 n.19
Ludwig, A. 118, 279
Lugal, N. 260
Lukas, J. 261, 289
Lundgreen, P. 21

MacDonald, D. 6
Mackay, B. L. v. 83, 230, 294 n.16
Maltzan, H. v. 224, 294 n.14
Mangold, S. 14–16, 18, 29, 37, 92, 94, 119, 122, 123, 132–5, 137, 142–4, 149, 165, 166, 174, 175, 181, 182, 292 n.1, 295 n.2, 297 n.34, 298 n.39, 301 n.34, 302 n.35, 303 n.48, 304 n.1, 305 n.2, 308 n.25

Schleiermacher, F. D. E. 40, 41
Schliemann, H. 156, 157, 161, 215
Schlobies, H. 289
Schmidt, J. 240, 256
Schmitz, E. 226, 294 n.11
Schneider, A. M. 198, 254, 279, 293 n.16
Schneller, L. 83, 230, 294 n.11
Schnurrer, C. F. 281
Schomerus, H. W. 82, 259, 267
Schöne, R. 157, 160, 162
Schott, A. 245
Schott, S.263
Schott, W. 89, 150, 241, 258, 296 n.12, 298 n.2, n.43, 300 n.17
Schoy, C. 80, 226
Schrader, E. 146, 148–52, 237, 287
Schrader, O. 267, 301 n.33
Schreiner, M. 228, 294 n.8
Schroeder, L. v. 248, 264, 286
Schröter, E. 188
Schubring, W. 261
Schultens, A. 109, 110, 298 n.37 n.38
Schulthess, F. 232, 235, 267, 280, 300 n.18
Schumacher, G. 229, 294 n.11
Schwabinger von Schowingen, K. E. 182, 308 n.22
Schwally, F. 230, 252, 267, 280, 300 n.20, n.21, n.27, 307 n.14
Schwarz, B. W. 82
Schwarz, P. 227, 270, 288
Schweinfurth, G. 224, 294 n.14
Schwiger–Lerchenfeld, A. v. 225, 294 n.14
Schwyzer, E. 240, 245, 287
Seetzen, U. J. 92
Segert, S. 4
Seidel, E. 307 n.12
Sepp, J. N. 84, 229
Sethe, K. 239, 254
Seybold, C. F. 224, 282, 300 n.18
Seyffarth, G. 271, 297 n.31, 298 n.43
Sieg, E. 255, 267
Siggel, A. 189, 194
Simon, G. 83, 226
Simon, J. 160
Simon, R. 275
Singer, H. 83, 233, 294 n.16
Six, F. A. 206, 289
Snouck Hurgronje, C. 6, 170, 171, 174, 175, 177, 178, 182, 228, 305 n.2, 306 n.11
Sobernheim, M. 229
Socin, A. 126, 143, 225, 269, 282, 291 n.9, 295 n.18, 307 n.17
Soden, W. v. 195, 196, 238, 254
Söderblom, N. 82
Sohrweide, H. 204
Sommer, F. 280
Spanier, A. 188
Spiegel, F. v. 119, 249, 295 n.6, 296 n.12, 298 n.4, n.43, 299 n.14, 300 n.17
Spiegelberg, W. 263, 275, 281
Spies, O. 168, 169, 198, 205, 206, 226, 244, 246
Spitaler, A. 275
Spitta, W. 132, 307 n.17
Spoer, H. H. 233, 294 n.11
Sprenger, A. 171, 225, 243, 298 n.3, 300 n.29, 307 n.16
Spuler, B. 168, 198, 204, 231, 253, 260, 275, 295 n.18
Stauth, G. 11, 12, 219
Stein zum Altenstein, K. v. 296 n.22
Stein, O. 189, 279
Steindorff, G. 189, 271, 305 n.17
Steiner, H. 287
Steinschneider, M. 81, 131, 223, 294 n.8, 300 n.24
Stenzler, A. F. 102, 103, 131, 144, 247, 295 n.6, 296 n.12, 297 n.25, n.27, 298 n.43, 299 n.14, 301 n.30
Steudel, F. 90
Stichweh, R. 24, 27
Stickel, J. G. 92, 225, 265, 295 n.4, 298 n.43, 299 n.14
Strauss, D. F. 124, 304 n.7
Strauss, O. 189, 247
Streck, M. 286
Strothmann, R. 190, 225, 252, 260, 300 n.20, n.21
Strzygowski, J. 226, 256, 285, 294 n.6
Stüler, A. v. 154
Stumme, H. 226, 269, 305 n.2
Stummer, F. 248, 276, 286
Sudhoff, K. 80, 226, 272, 307 n.12
Süssheim, K. 166, 168, 188, 274, 306 n.3, 307 n.17
Suter, H. 80, 224

Taeschner, F. 225, 277, 305 n.3, 307 n.17
Thiersch, F. 136
Thorbecke, A. H. 129, 291 n.9
Thorbecke, F. 258, 262
Tietze, A. 188
Till, W. 284
Tischendorf, K. v. 130
Titze, H. 197, 201
Tobler, T. 225, 294 n.11
Troeltsch, E. 12, 173, 175, 176, 306 n.10

Trumpp, E. 144, 233, 274, 300 n.18 307 n.16
Tschudi, R. 179, 194, 235, 260, 287
Turner, S. 40
Tychsen, T. C. 296 n.9

Umbreit, F. W. K. 261
Unger, E. 238, 239, 305 n.17
Ungnad, A. 193, 198, 247, 256, 265
Usener, H. 105, 153

Vahlen, H. 209, 309 n.13
Vámbéry/Bamberger, H./A. 229
van Ess, J. 9, 10, 172, 305 n.1, 306 n.8
Vandenhoff, B. 277, 300 n.20
Vasmer, R. 228, 294 n.7
Vater, J. S. 297 n.36
Virchow, R. 157, 233, 294 n.12
Vogt, E. 106, 107
Vollers, K. 132, 198, 225, 265, 300 n.27, 307 n.17
Vullers, J. A. 90, 252, 295 n.4, 298 n.43, 299 n.14

Waardenburg, J. J. 6, 7
Wachtsmuth, F. 250, 273
Wackernagel, J. 235, 254
Wahl, S. F. G. 257, 297 n.36
Wahrmund, A. 91, 131, 283
Waldschmidt, E. 255, 305 n.17
Walther, A. 305 n.17
Walzer, R. 176, 188
Wassermann, H. 208
Weber, A. 121, 148, 239, 240, 296 n.12, 297 n.25, 298 n.43, 299 n.5, n.13, 301 n.33
Weber, M. 11, 12, 173, 175, 176
Weber, W. 21–3, 84, 100, 292 n.17
Wehler, H. U. 21
Wehr, H. 168, 198, 205, 207, 217, 249, 257, 258, 275, 289, 293 n.16
Weidner, E. 255, 256
Weil, Gotthold 132, 188, 229, 237, 250, 295 n.18
Weil, Gustav 118, 131, 143, 171, 229, 262, 295 n.4, n.6, n.18, 298 n.43, 300 n.17, 301 n.32, 307 n.16
Weissbach, F. H. 194, 270, 271
Welcker, F.G. 120
Weller, F. 272
Weller, H. 283
Wellesz, E. J. 189
Wellhausen, J. 6, 9, 10, 15, 81, 125, 129, 144, 170, 171, 175, 226, 253, 258, 273, 290 n.9, 291 n.9, 305 n.1, 306 n.8
Westermann, D. 241, 288, 289
Wetzstein, L. J. G. 131, 150, 226, 236, 300 n.17, n.29, 307 n.16
Widmer, G. 243
Wiedemann, A. 245
Wiedemann, E. 80, 223, 231, 307 n.12
Wiegand, T. 159, 305 n.16
Wietersheim, E. v. 130, 136
Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. v. 105, 153
Wilhelm II (German Reich) 147–148, 150, 159
Wilkins, C. 96
Willett, O. 22, 23, 292 n.17
Winckelmann, J. J. 98, 153
Winckler, H. 238
Windisch, E. 263, 271, 281, 299 n.13, 300 n.25, 301 n.33
Winkler, H. A. 189, 233, 294 n.10
Winternitz, M. 279, 301 n.33
Wirth, A. 84, 232
Wissmann, H. v. 229, 294 n.12, n.13
Wittek, P. 188, 305 n.3
Wolf, F. A. 40, 41, 59, 95–102, 104, 105, 109, 110, 114, 120, 153, 196, 297 n.29
Wolf, W. 271, 305 n.17
Wolff, F. 188
Wolff, P. 81, 228
Wreszinski, W. 268
Wünsche, A. 232, 294 n.10
Würschmidt, J. 231
Wüst, W. 192, 199, 200, 203, 276
Wüstenfeld, H. F. 118, 122, 131, 224, 252, 253, 295 n.6, 296 n.12, 298 n.43, 299 n.14, 301 n.32

Yapp, M.E. 36

Zachariae, T. 259, 308 n.20
Zambaur, E. v. 230, 294 n.7
Zetterstéen, K. V. 231
Zieseniss, A. 248
Zimmer, H. 189, 241, 257, 263
Zimmern, H. 132, 146, 247, 269, 270, 300 n.18
Zloczower, A. 20, 27, 45, 292 n.16, 293 n.14
Zwemer, S. M. 83, 230
Zyhlarz, E. 261, 305 n.3, n.17